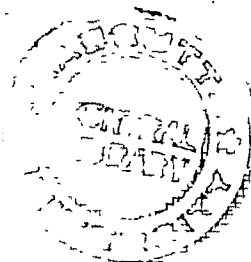


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Balkan Studies

A BIENNIAL PUBLICATION
OF THE
INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES
(ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ ΧΕΡΣΟΝΗΣΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΟΥ)
THESSALONIKI, GREECE

16



Volume 30, Number One

Thessaloniki 1989

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31A, M. Alexandrou Street, P. O. BOX 10611, GR 54110 THESSALONIKI, GREECE

- * Published twice a year under the auspices of the Institute.
- * *Editor-in-Chief:* Prof. C. Svolopoulos.
Advisory Board: Chairman: Prof. T. A. Couloumbis, *Members:* Prof. A.-E. Tachiaos, Prof. D. Pandermalis, Prof. J. Koliopoulos.
- * Books for review should be sent in two copies, one for the reviewer and one for the files of *BALKAN STUDIES*.
- * As of 1989 subscription to *BALKAN STUDIES*: U.S. \$ 30 per annual volume (two numbers); U.S. \$ 15 per individual number.
- * Orders for the United States of America and Canada may be addressed to: 1. *F. W. Faxon Co.*, 515 Hyde Park Ave., Boston, Mass. 02131, USA — 2. *Ebsco Subscription Services*, 17-19 Washington Ave., Tenaftly, N.J. 07670, USA — 3. *Kinokuniya Co. Ltd.*, P. O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan.

For Greece and Europe orders may be addressed directly to the Institute or to: 1. *I. Kollaros* 60 Solonos St., 10679 Athens, Greece — 2. *B. H. Blackwell Ltd.*, Broad Street, Oxford England — 3. *Kubon and Sagner*, Schießbach 68, 8-München-34, W. Germany — 4. *Swets and Zeitlinger, N. V.*, Publishers, Heereweg 347b, Lisse, The Netherlands — 5. *Licosa, S.p.A.*, via Lamarmora 45, 50121 Firenze, Italy.
- * *Balkan Studies* is abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, and indexed by *Current Contents, Behavioral, Social and Management of the Institute for Scientific Information*, Philadelphia, Penn., USA.

949.6
B189

Balkan Studies

Volume 30, 1989

Number 1

949.6
218
S1

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Printed by: S. & J. Sfakianakis Bros Co, Thessaloniki

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Printed in Greece

GR ISSN 0005-4313

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

NIKOLAOS J. PANTAZOPOULOS, <i>Human Liberties in the Pre-Revolutionary Greek Community System</i>	5- 32
C. M. WOODHOUSE, <i>The Macedonian Contribution to the Struggle of Rhigas</i>	33- 42
MÁRTA NAGY, Νικόλαος Ίωάννου Ταληδόρος (Miklós Jankovicz) (ca. 1750-1817) and his wood-carver's workshop in Eger	43- 66
ROXANE D. ARGYROPOULOS, <i>A 19th Century Greek Scholar in Bucharest: Mihail Christaris and his Library</i>	67- 82
STOYNA POROMANSKA, <i>Die Fremdwörter in der Neugriechischen Sprache</i>	83 92
PAOLO AGOSTINI, <i>Un elemento ascitizio di alcune lingue slave, germaniche e semitiche derivato dal nome di un antico nummo aureo</i>	93-106
EVANTHIS HATZIVASSILIOU, <i>The Suez crisis, Cyprus and Greek foreign policy, 1956. A view from the British Archives</i>	107-129
MINAS ANALYTIS, <i>La restructuration économique en URSS: Une analyse rétrospective de la nouvelle gestion soviétique</i>	131-151

REVIEW ESSAYS

ATHANASSIOS E. KARATHANASSIS, Παν. Κ. Χρήστου, Τὸ "Ἅγιον" Ὄρος - 'Αθωνική Πολιτεία - 'Ιστορία, Τέχνη, Ζωή	153-159
ATHANASSIOS CHRISTOU, Jens Reuter, <i>Die Albaner in Jugoslawien. Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartskunde Südosteuropas</i>	161-166

BOOK REVIEW

D. J. DELIVANIS, Εἰσαγγέλου Κοφοῦ, Ἡ βαλκανική διάσταση τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ Ζητήματος στὰ χρόνια τῆς Κατοχῆς καὶ στὴν Ἀντίσταση — Ev. Kofos, <i>The impact of the Macedonian question on civil conflict in Greece 1943-49</i>	167
—, Henri Ehret, <i>Passé avant le meilleur ou l'histoire de ces comtes qui on fait la Champagne</i>	168
—, Κ. Βιθυνοῦ-Μάνου, Γεώργιος Δρασίνης - ὁ ποιητής καὶ ἡ μνήμη	169

CONSTANTIN PAPOULIDIS, Elisabeth Malamut, <i>Les Iles de l'Empire Byzantin; VIIIe-XIIe siècles</i>	169-170
J. MEHDI İLHAN, Nikolaj Todorov and Asparuh Velkov, <i>Situation démographique de la Péninsule balkanique (fin du XVe s.-début du XVIe s.)</i>	170-172
CONSTANTIN NEGREANU, I. Dimitru-Snagov, <i>Le Saint-Siège et la Roumanie moderne (1866-1914)</i>	172-173
CH. SYMBONIDIS, Ch. Tzitzilis, <i>Griechische Lehnwörter im Türkischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anatolischen Dialekte</i>	173-178
JAMES J. FARSOLOS, Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, Constantinos D. Svolopoulos, Béla Király (eds.), <i>War and Society in East Central Europe, Vol. XXIII: Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eligteenth Century to 1914</i>	178-181
GERASIMOS AUGUSTINOS, Ivo Banac, <i>The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics</i>	181-182
R. V. BURKS, Ivo Banac, <i>With Stalin, Against Tito. Cominformist Splits in Yugoslav Communism</i>	182-183
VAN COUPOUDAKIS, Amikam Nachmani, <i>Israel, Turkey and Greece. Uneasy Relations in the East Mediterranean</i>	183-185

NIKOLAOS J. PANTAZOPOULOS

HUMAN LIBERTIES IN THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY GREEK COMMUNITY SYSTEM

The Enlightenment, in the advanced form in which it appeared in the eighteenth century in the West and particularly in France, as a natural extension of the humanist movement, as this in turn developed in the context of the Renaissance, the aim of which was to liberate people from all bonds, was the result of a lengthy cultural process which began in pre-classical Greece¹.

One might say that a precursory form of enlightenment had been the replacement of the bond of common blood (in the form of phratries and phyles) by the bonds of common space (demes) and common interests (orgeones and thiasi). These reforms had been peacefully accomplished after discussions between the opposing sides. With Solon's arbitration as elected archon and conciliator, the discussions led to the abolition of Draco's arbitrary military-camp-like polity, which was pregnant with sociopolitical turmoil and civil rebellion, and the constitution of a model polity of conciliation based on consensus processes².

1. See J. Godechot, *Les Institutions de la France sous la Révolution et l'Empire*, new edition (Paris, 1968); J. Jaurès, *Histoire socialiste de la Révolution française*, new edition by A. Soboul, Éditions sociales (Paris, 1968-73); J. Michelet, *Histoire de la Révolution française*, annotated by G. Walter, N.R.F. (Paris, 1962); W. Hubatsch, *Aufklärung zur Bestimmung von Ausdruck und Inhalt europäischen Staatsformen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1973); M. Horkheimer and T. W. Adorno, *Dialektische Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1973); R. Mousnier and E. Labrousse, *Le XVIII^e siècle, l'époque des Lumières (1715-1815)*, P.V.F. (Paris, 1985); P. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution (1760-1800)*, 2 vols (London, 1959-1964); A. Soboul, *L'Europe et la Révolution française*, 8 vols (Paris, 1885-1904); K. Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, second edition, Ermis (Athens, 1985); P. Kondilis, *Die Aufklärung im Rahmen des neuzeitlichen Rationalismus*, Klett-Gotta Verlag, 1987; Greek translation, *Ο Ευρωπαϊκός Διαφωτισμός*, 2 vols, Themelio (Athens, 1987), with an extensive bibliography (vol. 2, pp. 365-403). I am deeply indebted to Mr Evangelos Prontzas for the above bibliographical information; my thanks to him for his friendly advice.

2. Arist., *Ath. Pol.* V-X II; Plut., *Sol.* II', K'; D. 47, 22, 4. See N. Pantazopoulos, «Ελληνικά «κοινωνία», Προλεγόμενα εις το Αττικόν Σωματειακόν Δίκαιον» (1946);

Viewed in the context of their time, these reforms (which took place in the sixth century BC), were unquestionably the first ever legislative declaration of fundamental values (which at subsequent stages of their evolution became known as "human liberties"), for they acknowledged the individual's right to belong to the group of his choice. They thus abolished arbitrary membership of a group based on the bond of common blood as the exclusive precondition for granting "civil" rights to a particular category of citizen (the eupatrids). Having a monopoly on the means of dominance, being the only ones allowed to carry weapons, they exercised privileged authority and jurisdiction over the other citizens, who, now that they were able to join forces and actively fight for their own interests, acquired individuality and became sociopolitical entities in the new polity of conciliation.

The spirit of conciliation and co-existence was a basic factor in the subsequent sociopolitical evolution of the community-based polities of conciliation of Athens and the other democratic régimes. Their characteristic feature was the gradual extension of civil rights to broader categories of individuals and groups and the latter's more active participation in the city's public life.

Thus began the slow evolution of a whole string of liberties, which made up a precursory form of modern human rights³. Based on a complex system of privileges, they were not at first guaranteed constitutionally, but depended on each individual case⁴.

The original rules which served to harmonise the sociopolitical conflicts at first applied to a limited number of privileged individuals, such that one might say that the law did not always depend on its form (which was usually provided by legislation) but rather on the extent of its validity and the manner of its implementation, which latter depended on the type of régime involved.

Enlightenment, in the broadest sense of the word, functions as an innate cultural reformatory factor when, in critical periods of transition, juridical

«Ιστορική Εισαγωγή εις τας πηγάς του Ελληνικού Δικαίου» (1953); «Οργάνες, Παρατηρήσεις εις τα νεότερα επιγραφικά εσθμήματα και τας πηγάς καθόλου του Αττικού Σωματειακού Δικαίου» (1948): all republished in *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.: Αντιχάρισμα στον Ν. Πανταζόπουλο*, vol. XIX, part 1 (Thessaloniki, 1974), 233-80, 75-88, 311-38.

3. For a better understanding of the text on the basis of contemporary specialised distinctions between the concepts "individual liberties" and "individual rights", as particular categories of human rights, see D. Farely's articles in the *UNESCO Dictionary of Social Sciences*, vol. 1 (1972), pp. 78-80.

4. See my study, «Τα «προνόμια» ως πολιτιστικός παράγων εις τας σχέσεις Χριστιανών-Μουσουλμάνων: Συμβολή εις το εθνικόν κοινοδικαίον της Εγγύς Ανατολής και της Νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης» (1975), republished in *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, vol. XIX, part III (Thessaloniki, 1986), 25-90.

inertia or advanced forms of social co-existence provoke or contribute to the expansion of basic individual or collective liberties. Irrespective of their temporal coherence, these periods receive ideological feedback from each other because they express human beings' inborn propensity constantly to improve their conditions of life. This is achieved either smoothly through enlightenment or stormily through revolution.

A complex form of enlightenment, the fruit of an on-going process, manifested itself in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC as a reaction to the new form of oppression the city/group was exerting upon the citizen/unit⁵, when the Sophists introduced the Protagorian theories of subjectivity⁶ and relativity⁷ into philosophy, and thereby shifted the established centre of gravity of social co-existence from the group to the unit. Thus, the unit, rather than the group, thereafter became the criterion for all values, and the concept of "human being" now came to include the slave too, because, according to Alcidas, "God left all free, nature created no-one a slave"⁸: The dry, introverted concept of the citizen as a bearer of rights now turned outwards and ventured the first step towards cosmopolitanism.

Despite its humanistic content, the Sophist theory⁹ contained certain contradictions. One of these was Callicles's opinion that the "κρείττων",

5. According to Hippias, «Ο νόμος τύραννος ὦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ παρὰ φύσιν βιάζεται» (Plat., *Prot.*, 337d), and according to Antiphon, «Πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ νόμον δικαίων πολεμῶς τῇ φύσει κείται», Diels, *Fragm.* 44A, Col. 2 (34-66), 3-30).

6. Plat., *Theait.*, 152a; Diog. *Laert.*, IX, 51.

7. Plat., *Theait.*, 158a, 180; *Crat.*, 358; Diog. *Laert.*, IX, 51.

8. Arist., *Rhet.*, 1373, *Schol.*

9. W. Zilles, "Hippias aus Elis", *Hermes*, 53 (1918), 45-56; D. Loenen, *Protagoras and the Greek Community* (Amsterdam, 1940); H. Strasburger, "Der Einzelne und die Gemeinschaft", in *Zur griechischen Staatskunde*, published by F. Gechitzar (Darmstadt, 1969); A. W. H. Adkins, *From the Many to the One* (London and Ithaca, New York, 1970); M. Emsbach, *Sophistik als Aufklärung: Untersuchungen zu Wissenschaftsbegriff und Geschichtsauffassung bei Protagoras*, Neumann (Königshausen, 1980); B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes: Die Entstehung des europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen*, fourth edition, (Göttingen, 1975); Greek translation by D. Iakov, *Η ανακάλυψη του πνεύματος: Ελληνικές ρίζες της ευρωπαϊκής σκέψης*, M.I.E.T. (Athens, 1981); F. Tonbruch, «Die Sophistik als Aufklärung», in «*Αρχαία Σοφιστική*»: Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Φιλοσοφίας (Athens, 1984), pp. 24-30; G. Alatzoglou-Themeli, «Οι αντικειμενικοί λόγοι του Πρωταγόρα: Ένα αδιέξοδο και η λύση του», in «*Αρχαία Σοφιστική*», *op. cit.*, pp. 64-79; V. Kyriakos, *Αρχαίος Ελληνικός διαφωτισμός και Σοφιστική* (Ioannina, 1986); N. Pantazopoulos, «Ο Αριστοτέλης και οι Σοφιστές: Ο πολιτικοκοινωνικός στοχασμός στην κλασική Ελλάδα», second edition (1980), republished in *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, vol. XIX, part 1 (1986), 365-404.

the physically or socially stronger, had the right to rule over and to enjoy greater wealth than the weaker¹⁰. After heated dialectical confrontations, this view was first reformed by Antiphon, who taught that the individual's social behaviour should be dictated by the precept "Do no wrong, that thou be not wronged"¹¹; and subsequently blended with Lycophron's proposition that there was no advantage to be gained from replacing the law of the city¹², which expressed the political will of the group, with the intransigent Sophists' law of nature.

It had to continue to prevail, because it was a conciliatory contract which served the interests of both the group and the unit. It thus averted a civil uprising, which would have been to the disadvantage of the whole, since it would have opened up the way for brief violent periods of dominance by either the "law of the city" or the "law of nature" faction. This was the Social Contract theory, which, after falling into abeyance for two thousand years, eventually brought Rousseau into the vanguard of the Enlightenment.

The Sophist theory focuses on the subjective criterion. The western Enlightenment, having been enriched by the teachings of Christianity and the contributions of Bacon, Locke, Hume, and the French Encyclopaedists, introduced into it the objective criterion, based on the following line of reasoning¹³.

There is nothing in the intellect that has not previously been perceived by the senses. It is admissible, however, that it subsequently be verified by experiment. The validity of any idea depends on observation and experiment, free of all sensual (that is, subjective) influence. The objective theory thus becomes an essential complement to subjective experience.

The Sophists opened up the way for the subsequent evaluation of moral, social, and political problems as these evolved and developed in the context

10. Plat., *Gogy.*, 483e: «τον κρείττω του ἥττοντος ἄρχειν και πλέον ἔχειν». Thrasy-machus makes the same point: «δίκαιον εἶναι οὐχ ἄλλο τι ἢ το του κρείττοντος συμφέρον»: Plat., *Resp.*, 338e. See A. Menzel, *Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Lehre von Rechte des Stärkeren* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1922).

11. F. Pfister, "Zu den neuen Bruchstücken des Sophisten Antiphon (Ox. Pap. 1364 und 1797)", in *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 45 (1925), 201-5; V. Kyrkos, «Δύο ανθρωπολογικές θέσεις στο Σοφιστή Αντιφάντα», *Μνήμων*, 3 (1973), 63-90.

12. Arist., *Polit.*, 1280, 10: «Και ο νόμος συνθήκη και καθάπερ ἔφη Λυκόφρων ο σοφιστής, εγγυητής ἀλλήλοις των δικαίων»; see C. Kahn, «The Origin of Social Contract Theory in the Fifth Century BC: The Sophists and their Legacy», *Hermes*, 44 (1981), 92-105.

13. See Reichenbach, *The Rise of Scientific Philosophy* (Los Angeles, California, 1951); P. Sorokin, *Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology* (Chicago, 1956).

of humanism. The metaphysical theorems and aphorisms of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance gave way to reality and its burning issues (religion, politics, commerce, and industry) as these were manifested in everyday life.

The first centuries of Christianity were characterised by a profound sense of humanism ("love thy neighbour"), which, however, modified by a concern for practicality and politics, was largely located in the metaphysical and religious sphere. The classic humanist tradition was broken in that, according to the Justinian Code¹⁴, the values which expressed it (*humanitas, clementia, caritas, benignitas*) belonged to the sphere of the Emperor's exclusive jurisdiction, which was exercised in practice as the merciful concession of arbitrary authority rather than as an obligation.

The Church too, during its long centuries of acculturation, ever since the time of the Three Hierarchs, when it was at the height of its influence, had practised philanthropy in the form of benevolence, as dictated by Christian solidarity and love—that is, as a moral duty towards the weak and the suffering, who had the ability to be grateful, but not the right to demand to exercise their liberties.

One has only to reflect upon the fact that the institution of slavery, against which the Hellenic spirit declared itself as early as the fourth century BC¹⁵, continued to scourge the Christian community until the nineteenth century. Consequently, any movement for its abolition was by its very nature a humanistic one.

The profusion of heresies, which were by no means alien to national separatist movements¹⁶, forced the centralised authoritarian State to harden its attitude towards collective demands for liberties, thus restricting even further any scope for the manifestation of individual liberties. All the same, both the classical and the Christian world-view was characterised by the passion to preserve, expand, or recover freedom. It was the constant link in their long endeavour throughout history¹⁷.

14. C. I, 1-38; 5, 1-22, 7, 1-6; 8, 1-18 (Jews); 10, 1-2; 11, 1-10; *Nov. Just.* ρθ' (= *Basilica* 1, 1-52). C. Armenopoulos, «Περὶ αἰρέσεων», in G. Rallis and P. Potlis, *Σύνταγμα Θεῶν και Ιερῶν Κανόνων*, 5 (Athens, 1985), 446-52.

15. See A. Bayonas, «Η αρχαία σοφιστική και ο θεσμός της δουλείας», *Αθηνά*, 68 (1965), 115-68.

16. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-manichæism* (Cambridge, 1948); I. Anastasiou, *Οι Παυλικιανοί: Η ιστορία και η διδασκαλία των από της εμφάνισης μέχρι των νεωτέρων χρόνων* (Athens, 1959).

17. See E. Ivanka, *Hellenisches und Christliches im frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben* (Vienna, 1948); W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt, 1958); R. Jenkins, "The

In the classical and modern democratic régimes enlightenment functioned dialectically, as a creative element intended to harmonise the conflict between the State's power centres and the citizen-subjects as sources of energy. Since these régimes recognised the right to free association, various individual groups effected a pluralistic manifestation of their tendencies towards renewal; and in concert with the State, of which they were an organic part, achieved the smooth evolution of sociopolitical affairs.

The authoritarian régimes did not look kindly on reform movements, which, when they did break out, had something of the nature of lucid intervals. They were undertaken on state initiative and were intended to reinforce the authority of the central power at home (as, for instance, in the case of the Isaurians and the Palaeologan Renaissance), or abroad (the enlightenment of the Slavs); or else they manifested themselves as private initiatives intended to reorganise the state machinery in order to deal more effectively with external threats (as in the case of Gemistus Plethon).

Despite the significant contribution of science in tracing humanism's diachronic development, there are still gaps in the Byzantine period which pose problems for research¹⁸. Gaps will inevitably exist as long as we seek proof of our civilisation's unbroken continuity in scholarly sources, because under the influence of fluctuating cultural circumstances, these often suppress or give a one-sided account of the facts.

Another factor which disorients research is the suppression of the sources themselves¹⁹. This is a widespread phenomenon owing to the irregu-

Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 17 (Washington, 1963), 38f., B. Hemmerdinger, "La Culture grecque classique du VII au IX siècle", *Byzantion*, 34 (1964), 125-33; K. Oehler, *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter* (Munich, 1969); W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paidia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 2 vols (Washington, 1966); D. Zakythinos, "La Grande Brèche dans la tradition historique de l'Hellénisme du septième au neuvième siècle", *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Ορλάνδον*, III (Athens, 1966), 300-24; P. Lemerle, *Le Premier Humanisme byzantin: Notes et remarques sur l'enseignement et la culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle*, PUF (Paris, 1971) (Greek translation by M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou published by the Educational Institution of the National Bank of Greece, Athens, 1981).

18. See G. Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Background of the Moravic Mission", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965), 1-18, and the collective work edited by I. Anastasiou, *Κυρίλλω και Μεθοδίο: Εόρτιος Τόμος επί τη χιλιοστή και εκατοστή ετηρίδι*, 2 vols (Thessaloniki, 1966-8).

19. See my article, «Μηχανισμοί συγκαλύψεως των πηγών Δικαίου», to be published in *Τιμητικός Τόμος Γεωργίου Δασκαλάκη*.

lar evolution of civilisation, following the Roman and other foreign conquests, and makes it difficult to pinpoint and assess popular institutions and values, which would facilitate the detection of evidence of the diachronic survival of the humanistic spirit in an integrated form.

Furthermore, scientific research attaches primary importance to education as a factor in the temporal development of the Renaissance, as the bridge between the spiritual heritage of classical antiquity and our own time. Education, however, particularly in the dark periods of history (such as the first centuries of Byzantium), was cultivated in and directed at a limited circle of people. Only rarely did it extend to the masses, who tended to follow their own cultural patterns. This may be one reason for the ambiguity between the terms "renaissance" and "enlightenment" which are very frequently confused.

Attempt to evaluate the aims of the Enlightenment have ignored the institutions of popular law, although, despite having been passed over by the power centres, they continued to be the vehicles of the popular humanist tradition. It is extremely difficult for research to detect them, however, as I have said, owing to the suppression of sources, which was the means used arbitrarily to impose the legal system which expressed the official—"purist"—state policy.

It is for the reasons outlined above that the community system is of such great importance, as the cradle in which humanism, nourished by popular sources, fashioned a collective way of life. As it put into practice the general concepts of isonomy, autonomy, solidarity, the common interest, and arbitration, this way of life developed specific patterns of behaviour, such as the political virtue of antiquity, the Christian virtue of the Middle Ages, and the communal virtue or martial virtue and mettle of more recent times.

Humanism went hand-in-hand with and was strengthened, up to a point, by the Enlightenment²⁰. It did not depend exclusively on the Enlightenment, however, being self-sufficient and closely bound up with the very existence of humankind, which was instinctively and spontaneously seeking humanism's basic goal, liberation from all forms of bondage. The Enlightenment was a scholarly phenomenon of limited range and usually heteronomous origin, in contrast to the autonomous nature of humanism.

20. See B. Bischoff, "Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters", *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XLLV (1951), 27-55; P. Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols (London, 1967-70); F. Dölger, *Classical Influence in European Culture A.D. 500-1500* (Cambridge, 1971).

The longing for a better quality of life revived in the late Byzantine period, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries²¹. Together with the theoretical dialectical juxtaposition of the stagnating religious, political, and social problems, which, on the basis of classical or Christian models, were trying to escape from the stifling embrace of the external factor, the Zealot uprising of 1342-9 manifested a bold effort to renew the languishing centralised system through an autonomously developed regional administrative system. According to one view, this latter was influenced by western models²².

In the following century, the humanist philosopher of Mistras, Gemistus Plethon, envisaged dealing with the impending catastrophe by a "great and significant change". Through petitions and writings, he enjoined Mistras's overlords and the Emperor himself²³ to carry out radical sociopolitical reforms²⁴ based on the principle of the equality and solidarity of the sources of energy that would be created. The *diakonikon phylon* would co-operate with the *autourgikon phylon*²⁵, from whose ranks would come the soldiers,

21. See E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium: From Justinian I to the last Palaeologus* (Oxford, 1961); D. J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1966) (Greek translation by K. Kyriazis, Athens, 1966); S. Xydis, "Medieval Origins of Modern Greek Nationalism", *Balkan Studies*, 9 (1968), 1-20; C. Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1968); A. Vacalopoulos, "Byzantinism and Hellenism: Remarks on the Racial Origin and the Intellectual Continuity of the Greek Nation", *Balkan Studies*, 9 (1968), 101-21; D. Zakythinos, «Αναγέννησις και Αναγεννήσεις: Ελληνικά ανακεφαλαιώσεις», *Μεταβυζαντινά και Νεοελληνικά* (Athens, 1978), pp. 130-228; idem, «Το πρόβλημα της Ελληνικής συμβολής εις την Αναγέννησιν», *op. cit.*, pp. 229-43; H. Hunger, "Theodorus Metochites als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 45 (1952); S. Runciman, "Byzantine and Hellene in the Fourteenth Century", *Τόμος Κ. Αρμενοπούλου: Επιστ. Επιστ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.* (Thessaloniki, 1951), 27-38; H. Beck, *Theodorus Metochites: Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1952); C. J. Giannakopoulos, *Βυζάντιο και Δύση: Η αλληλεπίδραση των αμφιθαλών πολιτισμών στον Μεσαίωνα και στην Ιταλική αναγέννηση (330-1600)*, translated by Emmy Varouxaki (Athens, 1985).

22. See I. Ševčenko, "The Zealot Revolution and the Supposed Genoese Colony in Thessalonika", *Ελληνικά*, 4 (1953), Προσφορά εις Στέλιωνα Κυριακίδη, 617, n. 70.

23. Advising the Despot Theodore about the Peloponnese, see J. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae*, 1866, p. 160, (photocopy reprint, 1977, pp. 841f.). Memorandum to King Emmanuel about affairs in the Peloponnese, *op. cit.*, pp. 821-40.

24. «Νόμων Συγγραφή»: Plethon, *traité des lois ou Recueil des fragments en parties inédites*, by C. Alexandre, translated by A. Pellissier (Amsterdam, 1966), pp. 16, 28-32, 126f. For a development of the subject, see my book, *Ρωμαϊκόν Δίκαιον*, III (1979), pp. 171-91, and G. Kavnadias, *Γεωργίου Πλήθωνος Γεμιστού, Η Σοσιαλιστική Πολιτεία: Κοινωνία και κοινωνική σκέψη στο Βυζάντιο* (Athens, 1987).

25. Ασιτουργικόν φύλλον: producers involved in primary production; διακονικόν φύλ-

the instruments, that is, of the agents of the centre of power. This system presupposed shared use of the land by the owners and the free farmers and interchange of activities and duties between the *diakonikon phylon* and the *autourgikon phylon*, under the watchful eye of the ruling class, the aristocracy²⁶.

This revolutionary form of policy, which was inspired by Platonic models, presupposed a consciousness of national identity ("Έλληνες εσμέν"). Despite its Utopian nature, it gives valuable evidence of the appreciation of the idea of the unbroken coherence of the Hellenic cultural tradition.

During the period of Turkish domination which followed, the fact that the communities were a subsidiary power centre and at the same time a source of energy made it possible for a new reform movement to develop, amongst the lower orders this time. Their aims were fully supported by the subsidiary power centre, which operated in the context of the popular institution of local autonomous self-administration, under the supreme primary power of the Ottomans.

In the course of time, the humanist movement in the broadest sense of the term went from strength to strength, under the fruitful influences of Greek Christianity and the West European spirit. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, these influences took on a pan-European character, which was crystallised by the Belgian, Italian, Serbian, and above all the French and Greek Revolutions²⁷. These revolutions were all separate manifestations of the widespread spirit of liberation, which was inspired by the principle of nationalities.

The agents of the popular cultural tradition began hesitantly to approach the new trends from the West in the middle of the eighteenth century within the autonomous framework of the Community system. Dynamic Community representatives, such as merchants and sailors, had already begun to turn in this direction in an effort to modernise the institutional inertia resulting from the rapid change in socioeconomic circumstances.

In this case an intermediary role was played by translations of the works of European enlighteners. The Church reacted strongly against them, thus

λόν: service personnel involved in the manufacture, transportation, and distribution of the product. See S. P. Spentzas, *Plethon - G. Gemistos: Economy and Fiscal Views* (in the press).

26. The *diakonikon phylon* may be subdivided into the creative, the commercial, and the vulgar element and includes the craftsmen and producers, the merchants, and the manual workers. For further details, see my book, *Ρωμαϊκόν Δίκαιον*, III (1979), pp. 174-95.

27. Concerning the Balkans in particular, see D. Djordjević, *Révolutions nationales des peuples balkaniques* (Belgrade, 1965).

putting obstacles in the way of the process of enlightenment, the purpose of which was to bring Greece into the Western—chiefly French—juridical system.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, French liberal ideas began to exert a stronger influence on Greek affairs. This took the form of attempts to translate French works into Greek, as also the composition of original works by Greek patriots inspired by the French Enlightenment²⁸.

Before publishing the *Hungro-Wallachian Code* in 1818, which was clearly influenced by the *Code civile*, Nikolaos Karatzas had translated Voltaire's *Essai sur les mœurs*. Rigas Velesinlis translated Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des lois* and was influenced both by this and by the classical and community models, which inspired him in his formulation of the *New Civil Administration*, the first Modern Greek constitution since the Conquest²⁹.

28. The first translation of the French Constitution was done by Rigas Velesinlis in his "New Civil Administration", which will be discussed below. My essay on Maurer in *Επιστ. Σχ.Ν.Ο.Ε*, XIX, IV (1986), 424-7, contains a list of translations of French legal writings, to which should be added: *Ο Εμπορικός Κώδιξ της Γαλλίας μεταφρασθείς εκ του Γαλλικού πρωτοτύπου και πολλοίς σημειώμασι πλουτισθείς, έτι και παραρτήματι των αναγκαίων άρθρων εκ του Πολιτικού Κώδικος επανξηθείς παρά Νικολάου του Παπαδοπούλου, παρ' ου προσεσχεθείς τω εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εντιμοτάτω Συστήματι των Ελληνορωμαίων Εμπόρων προς κοινήν ωφέλειαν* (Vienna, 1814); *Θαλάσσιος Νομοθεσία, Συναθροισμένη από διαφόρους Νομοθέτας θαλασσίους Ευρωπαϊκούς και πλουτισμένη από διαφόρους φυλαττομένας συνηθείας διά οδηγίαν κάθε είδους ναυτικού και εμπορικού*, by Captain Nikolaos Kefalas of the Island of Zakynthos (Vienna, 1817); *Ιωάννου Ιακώβου Ρουσσώ του εκ Γενεύης, Λόγος περί αρχής και βάσεως της ανισότητος των ανθρώπων προς αλλήλους: Μεταφρασθείς εκ της Γαλλικής γλώσσης υπό Δημητρίου Αριστομένους [Σπυρίδωνος Βαλέτα] (Paris, 1818); Γαλλικός Εμπορικός Κώδιξ μεταφρασθείς εις την καθομιλουμένην ημών διάλεκτον παρά Θεοδώρου Ρ[άκου] (Paris, 1820); Η Συνταγματική Χάρτα, Μεταφρασθείσα υπό Φήλικος Δεαλχου (Paris, 1821) (this is the French Constitution of 1814); *Δοκίμιον περί προσωπικών ασφαλειών τας οποίας απαιτεί η σημερινή κατάστασις της πολιτικής κοινωνίας γραμμένη εις την Γαλλικήν γλώσσαν από τον Π.Κ.Φ. Δωνούν ... και μεταφρασμένη εις την Γραικικήν από τον Φ[ίλιππο] Φ[ουρναράκη] (Paris, 1825); Περί της Κοινωνικής Συνθήκης ή Αρχαί του Πολιτικού Δικαιώματος: Σύγγραμμα του Φιλοσόφου Ιωάννου Ιακώβου Ρουσσώ. Εκ της Γαλλικής γλώσσης κατά πρώτον μεταφρασθέν υπό ... Γρηγορίου Γεωργιάδου Ζαλόκου και εκδοθέν μετά προλεγόμενων υπό Κωνσταντίνου Νικολοπούλου (Paris, 1858); Περί Πολιτειών, Περί των εις σύνταξιν και συντήρησιν αυτών και περί Πολιτικής Κυβερνήσεως. Σύνοψις συνταχθείσα υπό Ι. Π. Κοκκώνη, Πελοποννησίου, επ' αγαθή της Ελλάδος, 2 vols (Paris, 1828-9); *Σχέδιον των παρατηρήσεων, προσθηκών και διορθώσεων διά να γίνη ο Γαλλικός Πολιτικός Κώδιξ εφαρμοστέος εις την Ελλάδα, υπό Α[λεξάνδρου] Π[άρι] (άμα), 3 vols (Athens, 1837-8).***

29. See my study, «Ελληνικαί Καταβολαί και ξενικαί επιδράσεις εις το έργον του Ρήγα Βελεστινλή» (1974), *Επιστ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε*, XIX, III (1986), 727-67; I. Pesmatzoglou, «Εθνικός και δημοκρατικός ανεңδοτισμός», *Ευθύνη*, 204 (December 1988), 656-8.

In the same year as Rigas was martyred (1798), Korais published in Paris his *Fraternal Teaching*, launching a stinging broadside against the recently published *Paternal Teaching's* message of subservience. In an endeavour to "enlighten" the French about his compatriots' cultural situation, he read his pamphlet *Memoir on the Present State of Civilisation in Greece* to a learned society in Paris in 1803³⁰. It was the first Greek response to the enlightenment movement to be exported from France to Greece. Korais continued his efforts to rouse the Greeks to revolution with a number of anonymous militant pamphlets, in which he used dialogue, the Sophists' dialectical tool of persuasion, to enlighten his compatriots in their struggle for freedom³¹. Disillusioned, perhaps, by the excesses of the French Revolution³², he chose to translate Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*, thus tempering his dedication to classical models with the enlightenment movement as it developed in Italy too, under Alfieri's influence. Korais devoted his long and productive life to a prolific literary output, endeavouring to breathe life into his enslaved fellow-Greeks' national consciousness and to make them self-reliant "perpetrators of freedom".

Following in the steps of Rigas's *Battle-song*, Korais composed and published in 1800 his *War-song of the Greeks Fighting for Freedom in Egypt*. In it he proclaims his conviction that:

*The Greeks and they alone
May fight their foes
And vanquish them.
But what can they not do
When with the French
They unite in a single body? ...
French and Greeks united,
In friendship closely bound
No longer are they Greeks and French,
But one Graeco-Gallic nation.*

30. *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce lu à la Société des Observateurs de l'homme de 16 Nivôse, an XI [6 Janvier 1803], par Coray.*

31. See D. Ginis, *Ta anónyma tou Korai* (Athens, 1948); K. Dimaras, *Αδαμαντίου Κοραή: Τρεις Διάλογοι* (Athens, 1960). Korais's patriotic pamphlets, which are now hard to come by, have recently been published by the Centre for Modern Greek Studies of the National Research Institute under the title: *Πολιτικά Φυλλάδια (1798-1831) του Αδ. Κοραή*, with an introduction by Loukia Droulia (Athens, 1983).

32. See Roxanni Argyropoulou, «Η σκέψη των ιδεολόγων στο έργο του Αδαμάντιου Κοραή», *Πρακτικά του Συνεδρίου Αδ. Κοραή και Χίος*, vol. II (Athens, 1985), pp. 31-45.

The militant *Hellenic Nomarchy: Discourse on Freedom* by "The Anonymous Greek" created a great stir on its appearance in 1806, and reveals the direct influence not only of Rigas but also of Montesquieu and Rousseau³³.

One work which was closer to the local popular community tradition was Daniil Filippidis and Grigorios Konstantas's *Modern Geography of Demetriis*, which was written in Demotic Greek and printed in Vienna in 1791. Grigorios Konstantas probably wrote most of the chapter on Thessaly and Magnesia: the frequent references to concord, education, the common interest, polity, democracy, and freedom, which have a clearly educational purpose, indicate that the communally advanced region of Thessaly and Magnesia was considered suitable for the experimental implementation of the principles of the Enlightenment with no small hope of success³⁴.

After the failure of Alexei Orlov's attempt to stir up revolution, the enslaved Greeks' anguished question, "What can [we] do now amidst the encircling mist?" was answered by Grigorios Konstantas with a restrained optimism based on his appreciation of the actual situation:

*That Hellenic spirit which inspired our forefathers
A longlasting yoke encompassing and deadening all
Could not quench. It awaits but the breath of a favourable wind
To shine out again in the theatre of the world*³⁵.

"That Hellenic spirit" was nothing less than the native popular culture surviving in the Communities of Turkish-held Pelion, where, as Konstantas observed, "every village is a diminutive city, a democracy". The vehicles of this spirit—and this is particularly important—were progressive and liberal clerics, such as Grigorios Konstantas, Daniil Filippidis, and Anthimos Gazis, who, influenced by the spirit of the Enlightenment, became supporters of the popular community tradition and struggled to disseminate it without coming into direct conflict with the conservative views of the Church³⁶.

In assessing the role of the Enlightenment in the Greeks' demand for

33. The Anonymous Greek, *Ελληνική Νομαρχία, ήτοι Λόγος περί ελευθερίας*, edited by G. Valetas, N. Bees, and M. Sigouros, third edition, Vivliodetiki (Athens, 1957), pp. 358f.

34. See my study, «Κοινοτικός βίος εις την Θεσσαλομαγνησία επί Τουρκοκρατίας» (1967), *Επιστ. Επει. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, II- (1986), 351-443.

35. *Νεωτερικὴ Γεωγραφία* (Venice, 1791), p. 14.

36. Cf. Korais's thoughts on the collective struggle in his pamphlet, *Τι πρέπει να κάμωσιν οι Γραικοί εις τας παρούσας περιστάσεις* (1805).

and acquisition of civil liberty and particularly in the development of the Modern Greek individual and group image, much greater importance was attached to those aspects of enlightenment which came from the West, than to equivalent phenomena which evolved independently in enslaved Greece and served the same purposes by different means. Thus, it was not fully appreciated that when the Enlightenment, as an "intellectual" factor, entered Greece via translations, processes were already under way amongst the people which assisted its gradual absorption. These processes varied, naturally, from place to place and time to time, according to circumstances. Owing to the long years of slavery, they functioned peripherally, sometimes in the wrong way, independently, and autonomously, in the context of the enslaved Greeks' introverted life. Collectively organised in Communities, the Greeks were consciously preparing themselves to pursue the same aims as the Western Enlightenment: the liberation of humankind from all forms of bondage.

After the Byzantine state machinery had been dismantled, four main groups or categories developed: religious, political, economic, and military. On the basis of this fact, thirty years ago I included the naturally fluid concept of the Community in the political category³⁷. A closer investigation of the sources, however, showed me that I had been looking at the Community phenomenon from a very narrow viewpoint, and that if I wanted to evaluate it in its true dimensions I should have to look at it in the context of a broader grouping, which would also include the other categories mentioned above³⁸.

Having investigated these pluralistic forms of grouping diachronically and on various levels, I became convinced that I was looking at different stages in the development of a single central idea: the idea of the Community. As it developed—irrespective of its original form—this idea accompanied or became confused or identified with the other forms, founded as it was upon

37. «Ελλήνων Συσσωματώσεις» (1958), *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, III (1986), 93-119; «Öffentlich-Rechtliche Institutionen der Griechen während der türkischen Herrschaft» (1960), *op. cit.*, 123-36.

38. Cf. "Community Laws and Customs of Western Macedonia under Ottoman Rule" (1961), *op. cit.*, 463-85; "Church and Law in the Balkan Peninsula during the Ottoman Rule" (1967), *op. cit.*, 239-348; «Κοινοτικός βίος εις την Θεσσαλομαγνησίαν επί Τουρκοκρατίας» (1967), *op. cit.*, 351-445; «Ο Ελληνικός Κοινοτισμός και η Νεοελληνική Κοινοτική Παράδοση» (1985), *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, -V (1986), 579-614; «Οι κοινοτικές ρίζες του Μικρασιατικού Ελληνισμού» (1986), *op. cit.*, 617-65; "Law and Space in the Collective Consciousness of Greeks: The Popular Community Law and K. D. Karavidas", *Balkan Studies*, 26,2 (Thessaloniki, 1985), 271-97; *Η διαχρονική πορεία του Ελληνικού Κοινοτισμού* (at press).

the same unchanging values: the general principles of Greek law³⁹. Indeed, the identification is sometimes so close that one cannot distinguish between the various categories.

Despite the pressure applied by the conquerors, amidst sometimes intense intra- and intercommunal confrontations, in the middle of the eighteenth century the original agrarian and stockbreeding community rapidly gave way to the commercial and small industrial community. Public and common law were adapted to the new circumstances with the help of institutions and values which either developed from popular law, as this evolved in the course of its association with Ottoman law and local self-administration, or were deliberately introduced on the basis of French models⁴⁰.

The *Code de Commerce* of 1807 exerted a smooth and gradual influence, being a means of peaceful communication with the Mediterranean peoples and of filling the gaps created in the commercial sphere by the rapid development of the economic communities (guilds and associations). Being economically autonomous, these leagues proceeded to codify hitherto unknown practices, such as bills of exchange, bills payable to order, and sequestration. These practices had in fact been accepted by common law (and this is important) before the *Code de Commerce* was published, functioning on the basis of good faith, equity, and arbitration—unchanging inherent values and principles of Greek common law.

At first, the tendency to adopt French models was of a supplementary nature, but it rapidly developed into a thoroughgoing influence, which adversely affected both the official law (of the Byzantine emperors) and the popular law (of the Greek nation or the Greek people). It is in this form that we find it in the Ionian Islands, Crete, and Samos; areas in which, unlike Central Greece, where the German law of the Pandect was arbitrarily imposed, French law was enforced until the introduction of the Greek Civil Code in 1946.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the commercial factor was organised in "systems" and "associations" and fully conscious of its leading position within the social whole of which it was a functioning part. Through

39. The general principles of law which arise from the collective consciousness are invariable. In normal circumstances, they fill the deliberate gaps in the legislation and in unstable times they cover the legal inertia and dysfunctions arising from interruptions in its smooth operation. See my book, *Ρωμαϊκόν Δίκαιον*, Γ' (1979), pp. 404f.

40. See my study, *Από της «λογίας» παραδόσεως εις τον Αστικόν Κώδικα*, second edition (Thessaloniki, 1965), pp. 132, 139f, 236, 186, and *passim*.

free trade it sought incorporation in the western, and particularly French, juridical system, and through economic self-sufficiency and autonomy its direct goal was to achieve political freedom (cf. the *Filiki Etaireia*) by dynamic means⁴¹.

The development of craft trades, commerce, and navigation, slowly at first and then with ever increasing speed, brought to the fore individuals who broke free from their exclusive dependence on the land to organise themselves in economic corporations. They then penetrated the subsidiary power centres in order to demand their community, economic, and civil rights. Owing to their financial dependence on the conqueror, the political communities were such centres. In this way they ensured their own active participation in the process of administration, distribution, payment, and control of taxes.

In some cases, these active elements were content merely to be incorporated within the subsidiary power centres and to occupy leading positions in accordance with their financial contribution (such as the delegates and treasurers). Alternatively, around the middle of the eighteenth century, they achieved independence from the religious and political groupings to which they officially belonged, thus forming new sources of energy which could be exploited by the conqueror in exchange for additional facilities.

These modifications of the communal cell are usually hard to discern. At some stage traditional popular values and experiences, which are expressed by customs and mœurs, cease to operate efficiently because of changing external and internal circumstances. As a result of oppressive taxation, which becomes more than the taxpayer can endure, development is halted, the work-force gradually shrinks, and stagnation sets in, all of which effects are provoked by external factors. The same phenomenon may be observed when the internal equilibrium of the various sources of energy is upset. It is this inertia which either causes the experiment to fail (as in the case of the village of Ambelakia), or leads to the review and re-adjustment of the faulty situation on the initiative of the group's more dynamic elements, who usually use democratic methods to implement their programme of reform (as in the cases of Serres, Meleniko, and Hydra).

41. See my paper, "Greek Contributions to Maritime Laws and Commercial Customs in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries", off-print from *War and Society in East Central Europe*, vol. XIII, *Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies*, Columbia University Press and Institute for Balkan Studies (Thessaloniki, 1988), pp. 311-20. See also my study, «Μορφές συνεχιζακής οργάνωσης των Ελλήνων εμπόρων και ναυτικών στην ύστερη Τουρκοκρατία», to be published in *Τμήματα Τόμος Νικολάου Δελούκα*.

Readjustment is achieved by "recodifying" the old provisions and adopting new ones. In practice, this is effected through the gradual expansion of the jurisdiction of the subsidiary power centre from a limited professional sphere (such as the merchant navy) to a wider, political one⁴². In this case, the legislators disguise their efforts as the continuation of the legislative work of their "fathers and forefathers", which was interrupted or pushed into desuetude by anomalies or changes in the political situation.

All members of the Community were anxious to become economically self-sufficient, in order to be able then to achieve economic independence, as a precondition for the collective pursuit of their individual interests insofar as these were connected or identified with those of the group. This constant struggle, both within and outside the Community, prepared the *rayahs* psychologically to claim human liberties on a broader scale. Even before the French Revolution, the Communities were cultivating and promoting democratic ideals and nurturing revolutionary movements.

Each active member was entitled to vote in the election of the Community leaders, to belong to the subsidiary power centres (political communities, guilds, and associations), and to take part in the People's Assembly, which met annually and at various irregular intervals to check the elected leaders' handling of the Community's financial affairs.

The conqueror's primary power centre recognised the Community as a legal entity in public law. In certain circumstances, as a subsidiary power centre, it was represented by elected leaders (*kodjabashis*, elders, and master craftsmen), and was represented at the conqueror's primary power centre in Constantinople by a special agent, either a *vekil* or a *kapikehaya*, who co-ordinated the Community's obligations and claimed its rights in public law.

As a natural reaction to the heterogeneous régime of highhandedness and tyranny, in the autonomous framework of the Communities there developed a system of government which was inspired by a lofty democratic conviction and served as the enslaved Greeks' instrument for laying dynamic claim to their civil rights.

All the same, what facilitated the French Enlightenment's effortless influence on the development of the modern Greek political situation was the democratic conviction which inspired both movements. However, we must not forget that the democratic representative system had, in the centuries-old Community practice, a long tradition behind it, which far predated

42. See the preamble to the Law of Hydra (1818) in A. Lignos, *Αρχαίων Κοινότητος Ὑδρας*, 6, pp. 39.

the French Revolution. There were, for instance, the statutes which "all, great and small, priests and people, on the island of Mykonos" instituted in the first half of the seventeenth century. These statutes (of 8 October 1615 and 28 October 1649) inform us in the quaint local idiom that "it is a custom of our island from ancient times that we elect elders, and when they do not please us, we depose them and elect others".

The representative Community system (comprising the right to vote, to belong to subsidiary power centres, and to check the handling of the Community's financial affairs) had come under the jurisdiction of the "common *rayah*"—the General Assembly of the Community's equal members—long ago ("from ancient times"). Indeed, in the statute of 1615 it is emphatically stressed that this system operated in accordance with earlier consensus processes "according to the terms and agreements we had made"⁴³. As we shall shortly see, it was in force in Serres too in the same period, which leads one to conclude that social liberties existed in some areas from the middle of the sixteenth century.

The system of joint taxation meant that each active member of the Community functioned as an organic part of it. Every member had a direct part in the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and zealously observed the institution of personal accountability, which ensured smooth relations between the individual and the group in both an inward and an outward direction⁴⁴.

At the same time, the *rayahs* were being exhaustively exploited as a source of mass productivity and energy, in accordance with the preferential traditional common law of the Mediterranean. This allowed a singular system of co-operation to develop, based on the mutual interest which governed the relations between the conqueror, as a centre of power, and the taxpayers, as a source of energy. The system encouraged the expansion of the preferential jurisdiction, which, fueled by diplomacy and bribery, reinforced the autonomous functions of the institutions of local self-administration.

If the conquerors' fiscal system was to be productive, it was essential that they strike a safe balance between arbitrary taxation and the maximum level the taxpayers could tolerate. Consequently, as official Ottoman sources reveal, if this level were surpassed, a whole diplomatic system had been de-

43. See P. Zerlentiς, *Σύστασις του κοινού των Μυκονίων* (Ermoupolis, 1924), pp. 18-19.

44. See my study, «Η προς ευρωπαϊκά πρότυπα ολοκληρωτική στροφή της νεοελληνικής νομοθεσίας, Georg Ludwig v. Maurer» (1969), *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, IV (1986), 283-433.

P, 6774

veloped to enable the tributaries' displeasure to be defused by reducing the demands made on them or curbing the pressures applied by various officials. In this respect, it is interesting to note that a special sultanic decree (*adâlet-nâme*) granted the tributaries the right to protest against high-handedness on the part of state officials⁴⁵.

However, although the right to protest was explicitly recognised, in practice it was difficult to exercise. As already mentioned, it was actually a diplomatic means of covering up high-handedness, given that it pronounced sanctions against future violations while yet granting no right to compensation for damages already incurred as a result of arbitrary actions. In thus covering up high-handedness, in a way it legalised it in retrospect.

All the same, despite its factitious nature, the right to protect was exercised in practice through the active intervention of the military corporations of the *armatoli* (gendarmes) and the *klephts* (armed brigands, who took to the hills rather than submit to Turkish domination). These took dynamic action to provide a counterbalance to the fear aroused by Turkish high-handedness and were a lodestone for the underprivileged and the disgruntled.

Under these circumstances, one might regard the right to protest as an inhibiting factor when high-handed behaviour on the part of one of the conquerors' subsidiary power centres impeded or blocked the enslaved Greeks' productive capacity.

The customary right of protest, as a psychological means of relieving the sense of injustice, had its origins in Byzantine public protest (εκβόληση)⁴⁶. During the period of Turkish domination, on account of the mutual interests which governed the relations between the conquerors and their vassals⁴⁷, it passed through various stages of development, until, via various local uprisings, it culminated in the events of the 1821 War of Independence.

Other indirect means of protest consisted in applying pressure, which could go so far as threatening to scatter the members of the Community as a source of energy, or demands by the taxpayers to inspect the administration of the state functionaries.

45. See H. Inalcik, "Adaletnâmeler", *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, 2 (1965), 49f. (Greek translation by V. Dimitriadis and E. Sehabeddin, «Κανόνες απονομής δικαιοσύνης», *Δελτ. Τουρκ. Βιβλιογρ.*, 7 (Thessaloniki, 1969), 21f. See also my study, «Τα Προνόμια, ως πολιτιστικός παράγων εις τας σχέσεις Χριστιανών-Μουσουλμάνων: Συμβολή εις το εθνικόν κοινοδικαίον της Εγγύς Ανατολής και της Νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης» (1975), *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, III (1986), 68-71, for examples of practical applications.

46. Γεωργ. Νομ., XXXII and LXXXI: P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, vol. 2 (1931), pp. 67, 71.

47. See my study, «Τα Προνόμια», *op. cit.*, 72-4.

The wide range of the Community members' rights and obligations to regulate the Community's internal and external policy comprised the "Community virtue"⁴⁸, a cultural value which sprang from the general principles of solidarity and mutual interest, and was the linchpin of any group or individual social policy of a humanistic nature. A broad network of popular institutions developed for the effective protection of the socially weak. This was achieved through the building of churches, schools, and charitable institutions, ransoming prisoners, providing dowries for orphaned girls, and giving grants (the money coming from alms-boxes and legacies (*λάσσα*)).

Under these circumstances, in my opinion it is wrong to attribute the achievements of humanism exclusively to enlightenment from abroad.

I mention these instances in order to underline the fact that some human rights which survived or developed in the context of the privileges (the right to life, to property, to freedom of religion, and particularly the right to protest) were recognised, albeit only occasionally, after the *rayahs* had made active demands for them. This proves that the enslaved subjects had previously undergone a long and fruitful psychological preparation in order to realise the existence of these rights and the possibility of making dynamic demands for them.

Moving now into the sphere of the Church's exclusive jurisdiction in matters relating to religion which were regulated by the privileges, the violation of the law of *aman*⁴⁹, after the prompt payment of the Christians' taxes, conflicted with Moslem holy law and provoked the reaction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate as one of the tributaries' subsidiary power centres.

Despite the tissue of high-handedness which regulated the tributaries' obligations, the possibility of exercising the right to protest presupposed acceptance of the basic human rights in the form in which they were recognised by the system of privileges. Since we are tracing the recognition of human rights by searching for their origins and usually have no difficulty in attributing their spread to the influence of external factors, I do not think we can ignore the evidence of the sources, which reveal the processes which developed within the Community system, the cradle of the representative democratic system of government.

The eighteenth century saw the completion of the processes which had led to the Communities' modification from simple productive units into active

48. See my study, «Η προς Ευρωπαϊκά πρότυπα ολοκληρωτική στροφή», *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, IV (1986), 370-1.

49. «Τα Προνόμια», *op. cit.*, 36-7, 78-9.

administrative organisations. The coincidence of these two capacities, uncoordinated and unconnected to begin with, enabled the enslaved Greeks to combine and identify their passive aspect, as taxation units and sources of energy, with their active role in local self-administration and as a subsidiary power centre. Within the framework of the independent Communities in the broadest sense of the term, it also provided scope for dynamic action⁵⁰.

During the period of Turkish domination, the centres of enlightenment were the Ecumenical Patriarchate at first, and the various Communities thereafter, from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards.

a. Although for the first two centuries after the conquest the Ecumenical Patriarchate's activity was restricted to maintaining the post-conquest *status quo*, it was no less "enlightening" for all that⁵¹. In fact, the preservation of the enslaved Christians' religious and racial identity was a fundamental precondition for the gradual development of the idea of the *γένος*, or "nation" into the form it acquired around the middle of the eighteenth century: that is, the collective national consciousness of the *rayahs*.

I do not think, therefore, that we have any right to deny Enlightenment when it aspired to conscious actions aimed at preserving religion. For religion, in accordance with the privileges, is a prerequisite for the, conditional, recognition of an albeit questionable state of personal freedom.

The distributive tax system, according to which taxes to the suzerain were owed jointly⁵², was one of the principal factors which, for the reasons already outlined, allowed each Community to become a subsidiary power centre. The distribution and collection of the tax by Community members, who were authorised to do so by the primary power centre, was a source of keen intercommunal strife, which provoked the intervention of the conquerors' minions in the Community's internal affairs in such a way as to affect its autonomy.

The problem of the equitable distribution of the subjects' tax obligations in accordance with the general requirements of solidarity and the common interest was dealt with effectively by the economically advanced units of the

50. *Op. cit.*, 64-7.

51. See P. Ziogas, «Μια κίνηση πνευματικής αναγεννήσεως του υποδούλου Ελληνισμού κατά τον 16ο αιώνα (1540-1550)», *Ελληνικά*, 27 (1974), 50-78, 268-303; S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge University Press, 1968); M. Gedeon, «Η πνευματική κίνηση κατά τον ΙΗ' και ΙΘ' αιώνα» (edited by Alkis Angelou and Philippos Iliou), *Νεοελληνικά μελετήματα*, 1 (Athens, 1976); my study, «Εκκλησία και Δίκαιον», *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, III (1986), 232.

52. See my studies, «Κοινοτικός βίος» and «Προνόμις», *op. cit.*, passim.

sources of energy. An example of this was the "Community contract" concluded in Serres in 1614. With the unanimous agreement of the people and the guild leaders, a collective twelve-member body was set up and invested with all the authority of the subsidiary power centre for one year⁵³. This arrangement helped to take the edge off the social conflicts (such as that which broke out in Smyrna around 1785) and was achieved with the participation, as we should say nowadays, of all the productive classes, under the chairmanship of the Metropolitan.

This experiment in co-operation between the various sources of energy was tried in other areas too. It was successful in Pelion, where production and consumption were distributed amongst the villages; it failed in Ambelakia, owing to disagreement between the factors of production; it became a fruitful reality on Hydra with the cooperation of the partner-captains (*παρτζινέβελλοι*) and the associate-sailors between 1795 and 1818; and it developed into a perfect model of co-operation between guilds and associations in Meleniko in 1813.

The mechanisms for juridical control which were implemented in these cases were so advanced and covered the methods and intended aims so perfectly that even today they are not easily comprehended by outsiders.

At this period, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Enlightenment and the Community system were one and the same thing. This was dictated by the force of circumstances, for it was the only way the enslaved subjects could deliver themselves from the conquerors' tyranny, by making empirical use of the one element that was missing from classical enlightenment: experiment. Although there was no direct temporal continuity, from as early as the Renaissance and Thomas Diplovatatzis's time⁵⁴ the En-

53. According to the Chronicle of Papasynodinos, p. 49: "On the tenth day of November in the year 1614, all the people and the leaders of the most holy Metropolis of Serres assembled before the Most Reverend Metropolitan, our Lord and Bishop Damaskinos, and the most righteous clergy and devout priests and benefactory lords, and the great Synod and all the council, both great and small, elected twelve just, good, god-fearing, and virtuous men, and they took one man, the most just, good, and virtuous, from each guild, and set them with God and with their souls to be prominent and to maintain the common expenses of the citadel and the town of Serres, that they might, on pain of irreversible excommunication, distribute the charges amongst the Christians each according to his powers; and they were charged, with pallium and with stole, to be shy of neither rich nor poor, but only what God signalled to their hearts that they should cast upon each Christian; and they elected the best among the twelve". See P. N. Papageorgiou, «Αι Σέρραι και τα προάστεια τα περί τας Σέρρας και η μονή Ιωάννου του Προδρόμου», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, III, 2, 280.

54. See D. Mavrogiannis, *Recherches documentaires sur la vie et l'oeuvre d'histoire lit-*

lightenment was gradually moving onto a parallel course in which experiment—the implementation to a greater or lesser degree of the principles of humanism by various agents—played a decisive part from the time of Hobbes and Locke onwards. For how else could one describe the constant struggle which was waged on all fronds of the Community system, if not as an experiment in self-knowledge? During the last centuries of slavery, it passed through three main stages, as attested by the source evidence of the Greek Demotic songs.

In the first stage it was expressed through the individual anguish of the slave, who, in Rigas's words, "shudders and deeply sighs":

Mother, I tell you, I cannot labour for the Turks.

In the second stage, it developed into organised collective resistance:

On every mountain peak a pennon,

On every branch a kleph⁵⁵.

In the third stage, it was consummated in the demand for shared power as a form of military para-state or, as we have seen, as a subsidiary power centre covering the sources of energy:

Make haste the gendarmerie,

For we are coming like wolves⁵⁶.

b. In the Communities, the Enlightenment proceeded from the base upwards. As the preconditions for their development into independent subsidiary power centres gradually came into being, its influence spread, either independently or through translations. At first, however, the translations had limited scope, for few people had a knowledge of letters or languages to avail themselves of their message.

In contrast to Greece, where, as we have seen, the Enlightenment was fostered for the most part by the Community system, in the semi-independent Danube principalities it was nurtured by the feudal system which was in force there and precluded collective organisation.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the task there was undertaken in the capacity of a subsidiary power centre by a special category of enslaved

téraire de la jurisprudence du jurisconsulte grec Thomas Diplovatatzis (1468-1541) (Paris, 1965).

55. Another version runs: "at every spring a pennon, branches with *klephis* everywhere"; see C. Fauriel, *Δημοτικά Τραγούδια της συγχρόνου Ελλάδος*, with an introduction by N. Bees, translated by A. Chatziemmanouil (Athens, 1956), p. 96.

56. See D. Petropoulos, *Ελληνικά Δημοτικά Τραγούδια*, vol. I (Athens, 1958), pp. 228, 15,

subjects, the Phanariots, who made the most of the opportunities offered by international circumstances. Influenced by the West (France and Austria), the semi-independent rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia put innovatory concepts into practice, which have rightly been described as "enlightened despotism". This phrase is even more apt if one considers the situation in the rest of the Ottoman Empire, from which these rulers received their jurisdiction. Thanks to their knowledge of languages and their education, they became sensitive recipients of the European, and particularly the French, Enlightenment, and went on to disseminate it in their turn⁵⁷.

The humanistic achievements of the Phanariot rulers saw the light of day in the period between 1740 and 1820 through progressive statutes and laws. Legislative and linguistic reforms went hand-in-hand. Constantine Mavrokordatos, who ruled repeatedly over Hungro-Wallachia and Moldavia, replaced the Slavonic language with Romanian, protected education with a number of radical statutes, known as the "Great Charter" (1749), and liberated the serfs (*vecini*) from the sovereign power of the *boyars* (which was a consequence of their being tied to the land and dependent on the joint taxation system) by granting them the right to choose where they would live and to seek work where they wished, irrespective of the desires of their feudal lord. This legislation led to the abolition of bondage in 1746 and secured and safeguarded the peasants' personal liberty⁵⁸.

In 1780, Alexander Ypsilandis, ruler of Hungro-Wallachia, issued his "Legal Constitution" in Greek, and included common-law customs in his programme of reforms in order to improve conditions for the agrarian population⁵⁹.

57. See R. Florescu, "The Phanariot Régime in the Danubian Principalities", *Balkan Studies*, 9 (1968), 301-18; A. Dușu, "La Culture roumaine à l'époque des Phanariotes: Héritage et nouvelles acquisitions", *Symposium l'Epoque phanariote, Thessaloniki, 21-25 Octobre, 1970: A la mémoire de Cléobule Tsourkas*, Institute for Balkan Studies (Thessaloniki, 1974), pp. 77-83; Gr. Cassimatis, "Esquisse d'une sociologie du Phanariotisme", *op. cit.*, pp. 159-68; V. Georgescu, "Réalités roumaines et initiatives juridiques phanariotes: A propos de l'échec de l'œuvre codificatrice de Michael Fotino (Photeinopoulos)", *op. cit.*, pp. 301-14; N. Jorga, *To Βυζάντιο μετά το Βυζάντιο*, with a foreword by N. Svoronos, translated by G. Karas (Gutenberg, Athens, 1985), pp. 213f.

58. See S. Papacostea, "La Grande Charte de Constantin Mavrokordato (1741) et les réformes en Valachie et Moldavie", *L'Epoque phanariote*, pp. 365-76; F. Constantiniu, "Constantin Mavrokordato et l'abolition du servage en Valachie et en Moldavie", *op. cit.*, pp. 377-84.

59. See C. Giurescu, "Un remarquable prince phanariote: Alexandre Ypsilantis, voévode de Valachie et Moldavie", *op. cit.*, pp. 61-9.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the confused legal situation hitherto prevailing in Europe started to become clearer. The *Code Civil* was brought out in 1804 and the Austrian Code in 1811, both of which decisively influenced the legislative policies of the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia, who modelled their own legislative reforms on them⁶⁰. In 1816-18, Skarlatos Kallimachis's Moldavian Code introduced thinly disguised institutions of Austrian law on a virtually equal footing with the popular sources. The ruler of Hungro-Wallachia, Ioannis Karatzas, charged the poet Athanasios Christopoulos with the drafting of a Code, but the liberal provisions included in its initial version did not meet with the approval of the *boyars*, who rejected it. Christopoulos was forced to start again and this time produced, in Demotic, a popularised form of French models, the "Legislation of the Supreme and Most Pious Lord and Ruler of All Hungro-Wallachia ... Voevode Ioannis Karatzas, son of Georgios".

French influence extended to Bessarabia too, which was under Russian influence. The temporary governor of Bessarabia, Ioannis Kapodistrias, charged Petros Manegas, a jurist from Arta, with the drafting, in French, of a Civil Code (1821-5), which comprised 1517 articles. It was not implemented, however.

Despite the network of high-handedness which governed the subjects' obligations, the right to protest presupposed the existence and recognition of basic human rights in the form in which they were recognised by the privileges. Since we are tracing the recognition of human rights by seeking their origins and attributing their dissemination to the influence of the French Enlightenment, I do not think we can afford to ignore the evidence of the sources, which reveal the processes that evolved in the context of the Community system, that cradle of the democratic representative system of government.

It was in the person of Rigas Velesinlis that the two parallel cultural trends of the Enlightenment were blended: the French, which was manifested in the French Revolution, and the Greek, which was cultivated independently and gestated within the Community system, preparing the way for the Greek War of Independence of 1821⁶¹.

Looking back over all that has been said above, we can see that Rigas:

- i. Realised the possibility of regaining freedom through revolutionary

60. For a brief review of the legislative activity of the rulers of the Danube principalities, see my book, *Ρωμαϊκόν Δίκαιον*, vol. III (1979), pp. 304-42.

61. See my study, «Ελληνικά καταβολαί και ξενικά επιδράσεις εις το έργον του Ρήγα Βελεστινλή», *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, III (1986), 724-66.

action—the possibility, that is, of independently demanding human rights;

ii. Legislated for the latent right to protest;

iii. Conceived the fundamental idea of cultural unity, which was lying dormant beneath the pluralistic manifestations of change set out above;

iv. Diagnosed that matters were undergoing a process which required a broader theoretical substructure, and formulated his proposition about the form and the nature of the State that would come about after tyranny had been overthrown⁶².

In his Constitution of 1797⁶³, Rigas managed to harmonise the conflicting political ideologies which had gradually developed in the course of Turkish domination⁶⁴: that of the state of the Race, as expressed by the collective agent of the Ecumenical Patriarchate—a state which was monocratic, multinational, and conservative; and that of the state of the Nation, as expressed by the pluralistic agent of the Communities—a state which was polycratic, uni-national, and democratic. Using the experience he had acquired in communally advanced Pelion and the “cosmopolitan” environment of the Danube principalities, Rigas proposed a new form of federal state, which would be monocratic, supranational, and democratic. In this way he resolved the confusion and uncertainty arising from the absence of a unified political theory which could activate and co-ordinate the galloping process of modernisation.

At the same time, with his *Battle-Song*, he reinforced the feeling of security and self-confidence, made a stand against subservience, and highlighted the notion of *levendia*, or line and dashing manliness (a cultural value shared by the members of the military corporations) as a means by which independently to claim freedom.

Though he was influenced by the messages of the French Revolution,

62. See I. Kordatos, *Ο Πήγας Φεσάλος και η Βαλκανική Ομοσπονδία* (Athens, 1945); A. Manesis, “L’Activité et les projets politiques d’un patriote grec dans les Balkans vers la fin du XVIII siècle”, *Balkan Studies*, 3 (1962), 78-115.

63. For the whole text, see I. Kyriakopoulos, *Τα Συντάγματα της Ελλάδος* (Athens, 1960), pp. 5-27.

64. See my study, «Πήγας Βελεστινλής: Η πολιτική ιδεολογία του Ελληνισμού προ-άγγελος της Επανάστασης» (1964), *Επιστ. Επετ. Σχ. Ν.Ο.Ε.*, XIX, III (1986), 675-724. For contemporary ramifications, see A. Cobban, *National Self Determination* (London University Press, 1944); A. Manesis, *Η φιλελεύθερη δημοκρατική ιδεολογία της Εθνικής Επανάστασης του 1821* (Athens, 1987); H. Scholler, “Die Interaktion zwischen den Menschenrechten der europäischen Konvention und dem nationalen Verfassungsrecht”, *Σύμμεικτα προς τιμήν Φαίδωνος Θ. Βεγλερή*, vol. II (1968), pp. 491-504; S. Perrakis, «Η προστασία των δικαιωμάτων του ανθρώπου στα σχέδια της ευρωπαϊκής ενώσεως», *op. cit.*, pp. 585-99.

Rigas continued to promote the idea of the state as it developed within the reality of the Greek Community system. And while the French Revolution consolidated individual rights, Rigas envisaged the recognition of collective human rights irrespective of race, colour, and creed.

The rights of which Rigas dreamt in 1797, under a régime of harsh servitude, were adopted in 1948 by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which, in articles 20, 22, and 27, grants human rights to Societies and Communities⁶⁵. This event was a practical extension of the ideals of the Greek Enlightenment, which, although it was attempted in practice in various forms, never managed to acquire a universal aspect such as that conceived by Rigas.

The preceding analysis reveals that the Enlightenment was a cultural phenomenon which was already developing peripherally in the enslaved Greek regions before the outbreak of the French Revolution, and was being cultivated autonomously and independently within the Community system. The enslaved Greeks had acquired an awareness of cultural rights in the context of the prevailing circumstances at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a century and a half before the French Revolution.

So, without wishing to call in question the French Enlightenment's fertile influence on the development of the Modern Greek cultural situation, it is my belief that this influence would not have borne fruit if the seeds of the French Enlightenment had not fallen upon the soil of the Greek Community system, fertilised by "sweat and blood", and there taken root.

65. See G. Daskalakis, *Η Οικουμενική Διακήρυξις των Ανθρωπίνων Δικαιωμάτων* (Athens, 1953), pp. 88f.; idem, «Η κοινότητα στοιχείο πολιτιστικής ενότητας στο χώρο της Μεσογείου», offprint from *Ευθύες* (April, 1986), 151-6; idem, *Μαθήματα Συνταγματικού Δικαίου: Α' Γενικό Μέρος* (Athens, 1971), pp. 104f.; idem, *Η αναθεώρηση του Συντάγματος και το νόημα του συντακτικού έργου* (Athens, 1941).

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C M. WOODHOUSE

THE MACEDONIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE OF RHIGAS

The struggle that was frustrated when Rhigas was arrested at Trieste in December 1797 was not simply an attempt at armed rebellion. It was also a moral and cultural struggle. Rhigas' object was to liberate the soul of the Greeks, and not merely to break their political bonds. He was an educator as well as a revolutionary. He believed that the Greeks in the 18th century needed not only to be liberated from Turkish rule but to undergo a spiritual renaissance in order to take their proper place in Europe.

In consequence, his conception of education was not simply academic and scientific, though it included both academic and scientific studies. His conception of education was also social, moral and cultural. His revolutionary Proclamation in 1797 was a declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire; but he also wrote in it (Article 22): "From letters is born the progress with which all free nations shine".

What is more, he included among the nations who were to be freed not only the Greeks but the whole of southern Europe and the Near East, from the Ukraine to Egypt, from Albania to Georgia; Christians, Muslims and Jews, whites and blacks, and even the Turks themselves. For he regarded even the Turks as his brothers. They were just as much slaves of the Sultan as were the Greeks themselves.

"Ὅλα τὰ ἔθνη πολεμοῦν, he wrote in one of his poems, known as the "second Thourios". But his notion of war was cultural as well as military. This was something that his Austrian interrogators in prison could not understand. We can see the broad scope of his struggle from the list of accusations which the Austrian police presented in their report, even if they could not see it themselves. Their report, which survives in the State Archives in Vienna, contains six items of evidence to prove that Rhigas planned a revolution in Greece.

The first item was the original Thourios, which the interrogators described as a revolutionary poem. It was of course revolutionary; but it also contained a marvellously poetic picture of the free, democratic, multinational society which Rhigas wanted to see in the place of the Ottoman Empire. The

police could not be expected to know that they were reading the first masterpiece of modern Greek literature.

The second item on their charge-sheet was the Map of Hellas, drawn by Rhigas himself on twelve large sheets. An interesting feature of the map is that it extended the bounds of Hellas up to the Danube in the north, and beyond Constantinople and Nikomedeia in the East. It was said that Rhigas intended to increase his map from twelve to twenty-four sheets. In that case, it must have included practically the whole of the Ottoman Empire, and all the peoples to whom he appealed in the Thourios to rebel. But that was something which the Austrian police did not know.

It has been suggested by some modern scholars that Rhigas intended the map to be used for military purposes in his plans for rebellion. That may be so. But the map can also be seen as a kind of visual history-lesson. It includes historical notes, quotations from the classics, lists of rulers, drawings of coins, and so on. On the sheet depicting Macedonia, Rhigas identified the birth-place of Alexander the Great at Pella and that of his tutor, Aristotle, at Stageira. I shall return to the significance which Rhigas attached to Alexander, the greatest figure in Macedonian history.

The map also serves to illustrate two literary works published by Rhigas and his friends. One was a translation from French of the Abbé Barthélemy's work, *Le voyage du jeune Anacharsis*. The other was a collection of three translations from Italian, French and German, combined under the title of the *Moral Tripod*. These two publications together formed the third item in the charge-sheet against Rhigas.

Both works were published in Vienna by George Markidis Poulios, who was born at Siatista in Macedonia. Another Macedonian had a hand in the first work: George Sakellarios, born at Kozani, who translated the first three volumes of Barthélemy's *Anacharsis*. I shall have more to say about both these men.

The grounds for the suspicions of the police against these publications would be laughable if they were not so tragic in their consequences. Two of the three translations comprised in the *Moral Tripod* had settings in ancient Greece: one at Olympia during the Olympic Games, and one in the Mani and on Kythira. The *Anacharsis* told the story of a Scythian prince visiting Greece in the 4th century BC. Rhigas explicitly drew attention to the links with his Map of Hellas. The preface to the story of Olympia gave the sheet-number of the map on which it could be found; and the map itself repeatedly identified the places visited by Anacharsis. The conclusion of the interrogators of Rhigas

was that all these publications were designed to stir up rebellion by reminding the Greeks how great their history had been in the days of their ancestors.

The fourth item on the charge-sheet also involved maps—one each of Moldavia and Wallachia, which had not been included in Rhigas' Map of Hellas. He argued, however, that these two maps were a purely commercial publication, and the interrogators did not dispute it. But the same item of the charge-sheet included also the publication of a portrait of the head of Alexander the Great, copied from an engraving in a private collection at Vienna. Rhigas admitted publishing 1200 copies of this portrait, which was considered particularly sinister by the Austrian police because it was accompanied by biographical notes on Alexander's victories.

The police knew enough history to recognise that Alexander's victories were all won on territory which in their own day belonged to the Ottoman Empire; and they also knew that the Imperial Court of Vienna was on unusually friendly terms for the time being with the Sublime Porte at Constantinople, because both were equally terrified by the consequences of the French Revolution, and especially by the army of Napoleon Buonaparte in Italy, which had already reached Venice and the Ionian Islands.

Rhigas naturally was also conscious of the propagandist significance of publishing a portrait of the great Macedonian conqueror. In his "second Thourios" he even appealed to Alexander to rise from the grave and witness the heroism of the latter-day Macedonians. But for him the name of Alexander also had another significance which was equally important. Alexander was a man inspired by ideas of political and moral regeneration, which Rhigas shared. Alexander wanted to defeat the Persian Empire in order to liberate the Persians as well as the Greeks. He wanted then to fuse the races into a free and equal community, the first multinational state in human history. Rhigas had the same ecumenical aspirations. It is no exaggeration to say that of all the Macedonians who contributed to Rhigas' plans, the most influential was one who had died more than two thousand years ago.

So far all the items on the charge-sheet against Rhigas were on matters which the Austrian police simply did not understand. But they did at least understand the final two items, which were genuinely revolutionary in a military and not merely a cultural sense.

The fifth item accused Rhigas of trying to obtain French support, through the army of Napoleon in Italy, for a revolution in Greece. This was quite true: he did try to make contact with Napoleon, but he failed for several reasons. His letters never reached Napoleon, who had in fact left Italy to plan the invasion of England before Rhigas left Vienna for Trieste. Probably Napoleon

never even heard of Rhigas' name. However, the accusation of complicity with the revolutionary French has a bearing also on the sixth and last charge against Rhigas.

This was that he had published and circulated a Proclamation and a proposed Constitution based on the French *Rights of Man* and the revolutionary constitutions of the French republic. Of course, this was quite true; and Rhigas had also prepared a *Military Manual* (Στρατιωτικὸν Ἐγκὸλπιον), based on a text-book by an Austrian Field-Marshal. All of these were printed secretly in Vienna by Rhigas' friend George Poullos, the publisher born at Siatista. But unfortunately no printed copies survive, and only two or three manuscript copies of the Proclamation and Constitution.

The Proclamation and Constitution were undeniably revolutionary documents. They were closely modelled on their French originals, but modified in what Rhigas called "the Greek spirit". Where they deviated from their French models, they were, in the words of Professor Svolos, "more liberal, more democratic, and more humane". Unlike the French, who were legislating for a single, homogeneous nation, Rhigas was legislating for many nations and for Greeks everywhere, even (as he put it) καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀντίποδας, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἐλληνικὸν προξύμι ἐξαπλώθη καὶ εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια.

Rhigas' innovations shocked the Austrian authorities, and even shocked not a few Greeks who came to know of them. He was the first Greek to draft a constitution since Aristotle, the Macedonian tutor of his Macedonian hero, Alexander. His constitution was the first to frame a multinational democracy without discrimination of race or religion. It was the first to prescribe demotic as the official language for all purposes; the first to forbid torture and to abolish capital punishment; the first to make equal and compulsory the education of girls and boys, and even military service by both men and women. By implication, unlike the French constitution on which it was modelled, it granted political equality to women as well.

Clearly these were revolutionary proposals. The Austrian police were right to see a connection between the last two items on their charge-sheet and the four preceding items, but they were wrong in identifying the connection. In reality, the connection was not that all six were items in a revolutionary conspiracy, but that Rhigas' aim was the social, moral and cultural as well as the political emancipation of the Greek people. It would have been too much to expect the police to go back to Rhigas' earlier works, before he became a committed rebel against tyranny; but if they had done so, they might have better understood his objects. On the other hand, they might not; they might have been confirmed in their suspicions. At any rate, these earlier works

also deserve consideration as tentative but formative elements in his great plan.

Probably Rhigas' first publication was the Φυσικῆς Ἀπάνθισμα, written to introduce young Greeks to modern science as taught in French and German textbooks. It was written in demotic Greek, and constructed in the form of questions and answers between a student and a teacher, which was probably Rhigas' own method of instruction. The book might not have worried the police very much until they came to a note at the very end, announcing that Rhigas was also engaged in translating Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*. This would not have pleased the police at all, but in fact no more was ever heard of this work.

In the same year as the Φυσικῆς Ἀπάνθισμα Rhigas published a very different work, aimed at the cultural rather than the academic education of his compatriots. This was a collection of six romantic *novelle*, translated from French, under the title Τὸ Σχολεῖον τῶν ντελικάτων ἐραστῶν. These were the first modern western romances ever translated into Greek, and they set a fashion which others followed. Rhigas' purpose was twofold: to introduce his readers to the social customs of western Europe, but at the same time to warn them against the pretentious snobbishness of pre-revolutionary France. Perhaps he was also issuing at the same time a warning to the Phanariote aristocracy of Constantinople, Bucharest and Yassy, who would also suffer the same fate as the French aristocracy if a similar revolution broke out within the Ottoman Empire.

Another publication for which Rhigas was responsible was the first printed edition of the *Prophecies of Agathangelos*. Although attributed to a 13th-century monk, they were in fact written in the middle of the 18th century by the Archimandrite Theoklitos Polyeidis on Mount Athos. It may have been because Rhigas spent some time on Mount Athos in his youth that he became interested in the *Prophecies*. They greatly excited the Greeks, because they seemed to foretell the liberation of Greece by the Russians. Presumably the Austrian censorship did not study the text, because if they had done so they might have noticed that it also foretold the downfall of the Austrian Empire.

It is impossible to say where, when and by whom the *Prophecies of Agathangelos* were printed, because the title-page bears the absurd inscription "Agathoupolis 1279". I doubt whether the Poulios brothers would have printed such a title-page. But it is certain that they were the printers of Rhigas' Σχολεῖον τῶν ντελικάτων ἐραστῶν as well as most of Rhigas' later publications, both educational and revolutionary. These two brothers from Mace-

donia, George and Publius, were perhaps the closest of all Rhigas' associates during the last years of his life, from 1790 to 1798.

In addition to printing books for him, they also published the Greek *Ephimeris* at Vienna, which became essential reading for the Greek community abroad. It was read even by the Turks at Constantinople, and as far afield as Vidin, no doubt among others by the Pasha Osman Pasvanoglou, a friend and possibly an ἀδελφοποιτός of Rhigas.

Rhigas himself subscribed to the *Ephimeris* and helped to influence its policy in the direction of French republican ideas. He used it to advertise his publications, such as the Map of Hellas; and the *Ephimeris* published two poems in praise of his maps. The *Ephimeris* was thought to be so closely connected with Rhigas that when he was arrested at Trieste in December 1797, it was closed by order of the Austrian government two weeks later. George Poullos was arrested a few weeks after Rhigas, and his brother only escaped arrest because he was travelling on business in Wallachia and Moldavia. Publius Poullos' so-called business included helping dissident Poles to escape from Austria, and distributing revolutionary French books and publications of Rhigas.

It is obvious therefore that the Poullos brothers were not only very closely connected with Rhigas in sympathy, but also that they fully understood the interaction of his two guiding ideas: cultural emancipation and revolutionary action. Those whom Rhigas attracted to his cause were all men, mostly very young, who appreciated this dual purpose. Many of them were Macedonians living in the Austrian Empire. Some of their names are known, but almost certainly many more are not.

According to Christopher Perrhaivos, who was with Rhigas when he was arrested, Rhigas was carrying with him a number of letters from wealthy merchants in Vienna to their relatives in Epiros, Thessaly and Macedonia, urging them να συνδράμωσιν ἑκαστος τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν εἰς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας χρηματικὰς ἀνάγκας. Fortunately Perrhaivos, who was not arrested, was able to destroy the letters and warn those who had written them.

This story tells us two things about Rhigas' struggle for Greek liberation. First, he had serious support from reputable Greek merchants, many of whom were also men of high education as well as patriotism. There are said to have been about 400,000 Greeks in the Austrian Empire, and most of the trade between southern Europe and the Levant was in their hands, so they were well able to support Rhigas. The second thing this story tells us is that Rhigas' support came chiefly from Greeks whose roots were in northern Greece—Epiros, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

Rhigas could even claim to be an honorary Macedonian himself, since as a youth he is said to have served for a time as an ἀρματολὸς on Mount Olympus with a relative from Litokhoros. Whether or not this experience gave him a special sympathy with the Macedonians, it is certain that Macedonians formed the largest single group among those who were implicated with Rhigas when he was arrested.

The figures are quite specific on this point. The total of those arrested shortly after Rhigas himself was sixteen. Three of these were released before long for various reasons. Three more were native-born Austrian subjects (though two of the three had Greek ancestry). If we subtract these six from the total, we are left with ten Greeks imprisoned with Rhigas. Six of these ten were Macedonians.

Of these six, three had acquired foreign nationality, and were therefore not surrendered to the Turkish authorities but sent into exile in Germany. These three were George Poullos, aged 32, born at Siatista; George Theocharis, aged 40, born at Kastoria; and Constantine Doukas, aged 45, born at Siatista. The other three, like Rhigas, were technically still Ottoman subjects, and were therefore surrendered with him to the Turks to be executed, though without any judicial process of any kind. These three were Theocharis Torountzias, aged 22, born at Siatista; and two brothers, Ioannis and Panayotis Emmanuel, aged 24 and 22, both born at Kastoria. These last three were the youngest of the Macedonian group, and therefore had had no time to free themselves from Ottoman nationality.

Most of what is known about all of them is to be found in the records of their interrogation at Vienna. Naturally they did their best not to incriminate themselves, but since they did not regard their activities as criminal, most of what they said could be accepted as true. They emphasised as much as they could the cultural side of their activities. Poullos, for instance, had plans to publish classical texts in order to enlighten the Greeks on their state of slavery. He discussed the plan with the two Emmanuel brothers, both of whom had been well educated at Kastoria. Ioannis had written a text-book on mathematics, which was published at Vienna; and Rhigas had a copy of it. Panayotis said that he approved of Rhigas' Constitution because it could be compared with that of Solon. Probably he had in mind the cancellation of debts, ("σεισάχθεια"), a measure of Solon's which was added by Rhigas to his French model of the *Rights of Man* (Art. 35).

In saying this, however, he was admitting that he had read the Constitution. One by one, they all admitted this, and much more. They had sung the Thourios. They realised the significance of the Map of Hellas, the *Anacharsis*,

the portrait of Alexander. They knew about Rhigas' attempts to make contact with Napoleon, and about his intention to go to Greece. Some of them admitted their intention to follow him there. At first it had all seemed innocently patriotic, but under interrogation it was made to seem suspicious and even seditious.

The interrogators put the worst construction on every item of information. Constantine Doukas, for example, had travelled widely as a merchant; he had acquired Russian nationality; he had visited London, Paris and Amsterdam; so what was he doing in Vienna? They suspected that he had been involved in secret contacts with the French even earlier than Rhigas' efforts.

But the suspicions of the interrogators were arbitrary and unpredictable. For example, they regarded the *Anacharsis* as a seditious work, but they handled it quite inconsistently. After the execution of Rhigas and his fellow-victims, the families of two of them (the Cypriot Karatzas and the Macedonian Torountzias) requested the return of their personal property. The request was granted, with the exception of copies of *Anacharsis* because it was a revolutionary publication. Yet the *Anacharsis* had been freely on sale at Vienna for years in French and German. Moreover, Rhigas' friend Sakellarios, who had translated the first three volumes of *Anacharsis* into Greek, was left unmolested.

Sakellarios, born at Kozani in 1765, was perhaps the most talented of all Rhigas' Macedonian friends. He was a doctor, a poet, a philosopher, a translator and scholar. He wrote romantic and patriotic verses, and made the first Greek adaptation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. He published works on medicine and archaeology. He translated the great History of Greece by Louis Cousin Despréaux. One of Rhigas' fellow-prisoners, under interrogation, described him as "wholly possessed by ideas of the liberation of Greece". Nevertheless, he was not among those incriminated when Rhigas was arrested.

Since Sakellarios had translated three volumes of the *Anacharsis*, which the police regarded as a seditious work, Sakellarios' immunity seems paradoxical; all the more so when his case is compared with that of another young associate of Rhigas, Demetrios Nikolides, who did no more than begin the translation of volume VII of the *Anacharsis*, which was never finished or published. Yet Nikolides was surrendered to the Turks to be executed, while Sakellarios was immune. The basis of the paradoxical contrast is simple: the decisions of the Austrian authorities had nothing to do with justice or legality. They surrendered their victims not because they were criminals but simply because they were Ottoman subjects, whose surrender the Turks demanded.

As for those who were not Ottoman subjects, the police found it very

difficult to define any crime at all that they had committed. George Poullos and George Theocharis were therefore exiled to Leipzig because they could not possibly be put on trial. Both led very respectable lives at Leipzig, and prospered as businessmen. Both were eventually allowed to return to Vienna, but Theocharis preferred Leipzig, and lived there to the end of his life as Greek Consul. He was much helped by his marriage to a German wife. Poullos, on the other hand, never escaped entirely from the shadow of suspicion at Vienna. He was kept under surveillance because he was thought to be a Freemason.

That completes the account of Rhigas' Macedonian associates, so far as their names are known. But a few more names must be mentioned in the aftermath of Rhigas' tragedy. First, it has to be admitted with regret that the man who betrayed Rhigas to the Austrian police, Demetrios Oikonomos, was himself a Macedonian, born at Kozani. Another who cannot be forgiven is Michael Perdikaris, born at Kozani also, who knew Rhigas as a student at Bucharest. He declared, in a prolonged attack on Rhigas, that Oikonomos should not be called a traitor because by informing the police ἐστάθη τοῦ ὅλου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθνους ἡ σωτηρία. But Perdikaris also showed how little respect he deserved by saying that he had no interest in the liberation of Greece, and he prayed to God ν' αὐξάνη καὶ νὰ στερεώνη τὸ ὑψηλὸν Κράτος τῆς ἐπικεστᾶτης Μοναρχίας—meaning the Sultanate.

I leave Perdikaris, to come to a much more attractive character, George Zaviras, who was born at Siatista and educated at Thessaloniki, but spent most of his adult life in Hungary and Germany. He compiled in about 1804 the first biographical dictionary of Greek writers, and he was the first to recognise Rhigas as an important writer, though his Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ Ἑλληνικὸν θέατρον was not published until 1872. He described Rhigas as ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ ἐξ ἄκρον ζηλωτῆς τοῦ γένους and he called Rhigas' fellow-victims πάντων ἐγκωμίων ἄξιοι. He also lamented the closure of the Poullos press and *Ephimeris*. They would, he wrote, otherwise have published important works which would have served ὡς ἄλλαι τινὲς βαθμίδες πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πρώην ἐλικοῦνος τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνάβασιν. That was a verdict which would have pleased both Rhigas and Poullos, and it showed that Zaviras at least understood the nature of their intended revolution.

It can be seen, however, that Rhigas was still a controversial figure. He was not yet accepted as a national hero and protomartyr. Even after independence was achieved, opinions about him were still divided. The early historians, such as Rizos Neroulos and Ioannis Philemon, still criticised him. It is not easy to say exactly when the transformation of his reputation began, but perhaps the turning-point was marked when Theodore Kolokotronis wrote in

his old age that: 'Ο Ρήγας Φεραίος ἐστάθη ὁ μέγας εὐεργέτης τῆς φυλῆς μας· τὸ μελάνι του θὰ εἶναι πολύτιμον ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅσον τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἁγίων. No one could dispute the authority of the great revolutionary *klephtis* of the Morea. But the families of Rhigas' fellow-victims in Macedonia, Epiros, Thessaly and the islands had known it all along.

MÁRTA NAGY

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ (MIKLÓS JANKOVICZ)
(ca 1750-1817) AND HIS WOOD-CARVER'S WORKSHOP IN EGER

There are sixty orthodox churches in Hungary decorated with iconostasions. Four of them were prepared in the wood-carver's workshop of ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ or in his "picture carver's" workshop as he himself called it¹. Three screens were signed with his Christian name and surnames and one only with his initials.

On his earliest work, on the iconostasion of the St. Nicolas Church in Eger one can see neither the master's name nor the date of carving. Ödön Füves, in his essay written in 1971² reported, that according to a letter by the Greek orthodox church on 19th December, 1803, "it was only Miklós Joanovics's name that could be seen above the main entrance of the church there". The year, when the iconostasion was carved must have been 1789, as Miklós Jankovicz in his request to the Town Magistrates of Eger in 1789³ referred to his working on the screen.

He signed the iconostasion of the Holy Trinity Church in Miskolc as Nik. Jankovits above the Holy Gates with the date of 1791-1793:

«1791. JUL/ii/:15:IN/coepim/US:ALT/a/RE:MIS/koltzi/NI:GRE/cor/UM:
IN:N/omine/:S/anctae/:T/rinitatis/:PER:MA/gist/RUM:GRE/cum/:
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ
ΑΜΗΝ:
NIK/olaum/:IANKOVITS:S/culptura/RUM:F/init/UM:D/i/E:13 AV/gusti/:
A/nno/D/omini/:1793»*.

In the case of the Budapest church consecrated to the Assumption of God's Mother he placed his name above the Holy Gates as well:

“ΕΤΕΧΝΟΥΡΓΗΘΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΑΒΕ ΤΕΛΟΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ
ΤΕΜΠΛΕΟΝ ΥΠ’ ΕΜΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΝΗΣΟΥ ΝΑΞΟΥ 1800 ΤΗ. 15 ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ”.

* I express thanks to Dr. Medvigy Mihály for the absolve of the inscription.

1. Eger Állami levéltár/Eger State Archive; hereinafter called: EÁL. Number of document 1789 (313).

2. Füves Ö., "A pesti görögök és makedorománok galambpere" (Pigeon-trial of the Greeks and Macedo-rumanians in Pest), in: *Antik Tanulmányok* 1971, XVIII/1. p. 53.

3. EÁL, Document number is 1789 (313).

The Greek inscription below the God's Eye Composition on the screen of the St. George Church in Karcag supplies no information about the names of masters, it only gives 1811⁴ as the date of construction. The initials I.M., placed on the reverse of the southern part of the screen on the second panel in the first tier of the upper unit, are of the same age as the other inscriptions below the God's Eye Composition and on the back. They must mark the wood-carver.

The third element of his name, ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ, which means "image-carver"⁵, was used in the inscription on the Holy Sepulchre of the St. Nicolas church in Eger:

«ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ
ΑΜΗΝ 1797. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΑΝΚΟΒΙΤΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ ΑΦΘΙΑΣΕΙ
ΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΟΝ...»

There have appeared about some fifty lines about the life and works of ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ. They mainly give facts and do not try to analyse his art. Miklós Jankovicz is mentioned in the volume entitled "Heves megye műemlékei, Mesterek Adattára" edited by Pál Voit and five archival documents are named here as well⁶. These archival documents are referred to in the volume "Heves megye műemlékei, Eger város műemlékei" edited by Pál Voit⁷. The volume publishes the inscription of the Holy Sepulchre in the Eger church. József Bihari in his 1956 essay also mentions Miklós Jankovicz as the master of the iconostasion in Eger⁸. Árpád Somogyi, in his work published in Thessaloniki in 1970, mentioning the known archival documents gives a short critical analysis of the style of the iconostasion in Eger⁹. Besides his works mentioned earlier in his essay "A pesti görög templom építéstör-

4. The inscription is published in one of my earlier papers: M. Nagy, "The iconostasion of the Greek orthodox church in Karcag", in: *Balkan Studies* 1987. 28/2, p. 249.

5. Prof. St. Papadopoulos's verbal message. Hungarian-Greek Conference, Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, 1989, 8-10th May.

6. Voit P. (ed.), *Heves megye műemlékei. Mesterek Adattára* (The monuments of Heves County. Reference book of masters), Budapest, 1969, p. 344.

7. Voit P. (ed.), *Heves megye műemlékei. Eger város műemlékei* (The monuments of Heves County. The monuments of the town Eger), Budapest, 1969, p. 562-582.

8. Bihari J., "Fejezetek az egri szerbek és görögök történetéből" (Chapters from the history of Greeks and Serbians in Eger), in: *Az Egri Pedagógiai Főiskola Évkönyve* II. Eger, 1956, p. 413.

9. A. Somogyi, *Kunstdenkmäler der Griechischen diaspora in Ungarn*, IMXA, N. 121, Thessaloniki, 1970, p. 46-50.

ténete"¹⁰ Ödön Füves publishes the Jankovicz-documents concerning the screen of the church in Budapest. The descriptive analysis of the iconostasions in Karcag and Miskolc was attempted by the author of this paper in her earlier essays¹¹. There are some comments of few words on Miklós Jankovicz, which leave the facts and his style out of consideration¹².

Unfortunately we know very little about the life of Miklós Jankovicz, the wood-carver. There are only a few archival documents and the inscriptions on his works that indicate some events of his life.

Miklós Jankovicz, the wood-carver, who originated from the town Kamenica in Syrmia county wrote an application to the Town Magistrates of Eger with his own hand on 6th July, 1789, and he presented that he had worked in various towns of the counties of Syrmia and Bács with his journey-men¹³. He arrived in Eger to decorate the orthodox church there. In his petition he answered to the complaint of the joiners' guild in Eger who accused him of doing joinery, of botchery and of not paying tax. Miklós Jankovicz set forth, that gluing and planing, which he did while building the altar of the church in Eger, were parts of the work of a wood-carver just as well as they belonged to that of a joiner.

In his application on 10th July, 1789¹⁴, he asked the Town Magistrates

10. Füves Ö., "A pesti görögök és makedorománok galambpere" (see note 2); Füves Ö., "A pesti görög templom építéstörténete" (The history of the building of the Pest Greek Church), in: *Építés-Építészettudomány* VII, Budapest, 1975, p. 165-167.

11. Nagy M., *Görögök a Jászkunságban* (Greeks in the Jászkunság), Karcag, 1988, p. 41; M. Nagy, "The iconostasion of the Greek orthodox church in Karcag" (see note 4); M. Nagy, "A miskolci görög templom ikonosztázionja" (The iconostasion of the Greek Church in Miskolc), A lecture held at the Hungarian-Greek Conference, Budapest, Eötvös Lóránd University, 8-10th May, 1989; I have attempted to describe the workshop of Miklós Jankovicz analyzing its place in the history of Hungarian metabyzantine iconostasions in my book *Orthodox ikonosztázionok Magyarországon* (Orthodox iconostasions in Hungary). It is under publication at the Corvina Publishing House.

12. Popovics K., *A miskolci görögök művészeti emlékei* (The art monuments of the Greeks in Miskolc), Miskolc, not dated; Kárpáti L., "A miskolci orthodox templom ikonosztázionja" (The iconostasion of the orthodox church in Miskolc), in: *Napjaink*, Miskolc, 1978, 17, p. 26. The author in this paper, irrespective of their style and date of preparation, describes Miklós Jankovicz as the carver of the iconostasions of the St. Nicholas Church in Baja and the demolished Pentecost Church in Buda; D. Davidov, "A magyarországi szerb festészet" (The Serbian paintings in Hungary), in: *Ars Hungarica* 1988/1, p. 108. In his paper the author thinks Miklós Jankovicz to be of Serbian origin.

13. EÁL Document number 1789 (313).

14. EÁL Document number 1789 (336).

of Eger for a permission to reside. He put down that he would like to buy a house in Eger, which he had already chosen.

Between 1790-95, the tax-registers of Eger mentioned him as a master wood-carver, who paid taxes¹⁵. Between 1796-1805, he is registered as living in the 4th "fertyly" (quarter) of the town's 2nd "negyed" (district) and having a house¹⁶.

The document published in Ödön Fűves's above mentioned essay about the "Greek church in Pest"¹⁷...gives further data about his person. On 30th October, 1800, ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ, the wood-carver in Eger gave in Greek an acknowledgement of receipt of the money paid to him after the erection of the iconostasion of the Budapest church. He certified the acknowledgement with his seal. Two characters of Old Church Slavonic can be seen in his seal: *НА*.

On the Holy Sepulchre in the Eger church he named himself *ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ*, image-carver, which must have been an assumed name referring to his profession. According to his inscription on the iconostasion of the Budapest church he originated from the island of Naxos.

In 1815, Miklós Jankovicz prepared his last will, written in Hungarian, in Eger¹⁸, which—as he referred to it in the will—he could not even sign because of his progressive, unspecified illness. The last will shows Miklós Jankovicz to have been a poor man at that time. He left his small personal property to his maid, who had nursed his deceased wife as well. He bequeathed a very small amount of money to the St. Nicholas Church in Eger and to its curate, etc.

If the document described above is really the will of Miklós Jankovicz, the wood-carver, we are confronted with the problem of what had happened to his workshop with its equipment and tools, and to the house owned by him. His last work must have been the screen in Karcag in 1811. From 1811 to the year of his last will there passed four years without any work but with the problem of curing his wife and himself. The will was opened in 1817, so the wood-carver must have died at that time. Unfortunately, we do not know his burial-place.

15. Eger város Kamarási Hivatalának iratai (The Documents of the Chamber of the town, Eger), EÁL Document number V-4/a.

16. Eger város Tanácsának iratai (The papers of the Town Council of Eger), EÁL Document number V-1/b.

17. Fűves Ö., "A pesti görög templom építéstörténete" (see note 10), p. 165.

18. EÁL Document number 1817 (586).

The data collected so far and our suppositions arising from them can be summed up as follows. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ was born in the island of Naxos in about the middle of the 18th century. The advance of the Turkish conquerors, which reached the Greek islands later than it did the mainland, made his family flee from the island of Naxos and settle down perhaps at once in Syrmia. There, as the Greeks living in the Habsburg Monarchy usually did, he began to use his name in a Serbian way: Miklós Jankovicz¹⁹. The national census of the Greek merchants in 1754²⁰ contains more traders with the name Jankovicz in Syrmia and the county Bács. Among the Greeks of Bács there was registered a merchant called Nikola Jankovity. Could he be our wood-carver's father or uncle? Miklós Jankovicz, as Árpád Somogyi supposes it²¹, moved to Eger from Syrmia in the hope of working possibilities offered by the Greek churches being built here. He settled in Eger, bought a house—perhaps it was here that he married—and carved the iconostasions of the Greek orthodox churches in Eger, Miskolc, Budapest and Karcag. Besides the Holy Sepulchre in Eger these are his only works we know. Though in his first letter to the Town Magistrates of Eger on 6th July, 1789 he mentioned that he worked in "several famous churches of Syrmia and Bács county", we have discovered no works of his, which have survived in the southern regions. We do not know where he became a master of wood-carving. His style and the motives he used make us conclude that his mastery ripened in the spirit of Austro-Hungarian late-baroque style.

The life and works of Miklós Jankovicz have been little investigated. Describing his works in present-day Hungary we would like to contribute to the knowledge of the works of this outstanding master.

The architecture and carved decorations of the screens in Eger, Miskolc, Budapest and Karcag are very similar.

Architecturally the iconostasions in Eger and Miskolc represent the most developed type of iconostasions which is erected after the Russian Ukrainian style and fills in the whole lunette. Though the screen in Budapest has not been completed, its structure can clearly be seen. Similarly to the one in Budapest, the iconostasion in Karcag fills in almost the whole lunette. Though the units in the lunette arch are not rowed to follow the semicircular

19. Fúves Ö., "A pesti görögök nevei" (The names of the Greeks in Budapest), in: *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 70, Budapest, 1970, p. 260.

20. Országos Levéltár (National Archive) Helytartó Tanács tevéltára (The Archive of Helytartó Tanács) Misc. Fasc. 2, No. 8, 1754.

21. A. Somogyi, *Kunstdenkmäler der Griechischen diaspora in Ungarn* (see note 9).

arch as it is in Eger and Miskolc, they are grouped in a way that emphasizes the middle axis. The upper unit is terminated by an arched framing similar to entablatures. Owing to it, though the screen fits into the inner space of the church, we feel its detachment from the interior. Architecturally the iconostasions in Budapest and Karcag are transitory phenomena between the screens filling in the whole lunette and the ones built in the style of classicism from the quarter of the 19th century till the end of it.

The four screens have two well separable units: the lower, wall-like unit, which is basically dominated by rectangular panels, and the upper one, which is characterized by oval medallions.

In the case of all four screens, the rectangular panels of the lower units are shaped in the same way: the upper and lower horizontal sides of the rectangles are curved, being stretched out to an upward direction. The upper sides of the panels in the Church Feasts' tier and in the Apostle tier beside the middle axis of the Budapest iconostasion are curved twice. The panels on the Holy Gates and Diaconical Doors in Eger, Budapest and Karcag are variants of the basic form. The panels "standing on legs" on the Budapest doors and on the Diaconical Doors in Karcag are the same. Sometimes oval panels are placed in the lower units as well, as in the zones below the throne icons of the Eger, Miskolc and Budapest screens, or above the Diaconical Doors in Miskolc and Karcag. In Miskolc the panels of the Diaconical Doors have a prolate ellipsoid form, too. Irregular rocaille medallions can be seen in the lower unit, on the Holy Gates in Miskolc and above the Diaconical Doors in Budapest.

The upper unit is composed of panels with a quarterfoil shape in Eger and Budapest, and of medallions and quarterfoil shaped panels in Miskolc. There are four little medallions at the ends of the Golgotha-crucifix of the screens. Below the Crucifix—in Eger and Miskolc—there can be seen four irregular rocaille panels. The upper unit of the Karcag screen is composed of medallions only. At the ends of the Crucifix are placed medallions similar to those in Eger, Miskolc and Budapest, while below the Crucifix two bigger rocaille panels can be seen. Below the Crucifix in Budapest there can be seen two bigger rectangular panels.

Iconographically the lower units of all four screens can be divided into four rows, the iconostasions in Eger and Budapest are separated into four zones at the same time (throne-icons; panels depicting scenes from the Scriptures below the throne-icons; Church-Feasts; Apostles). In Miskolc the Church Feasts, while in Karcag the Apostles, occupy two tiers.

The Miskolc screen is a monumental construction in size. It is the biggest

among Hungarian iconostasions: its width is 12 metres; its height is about 16 metres. It is a screen with 93 compositions, the greatest number in Hungary. In Eger the width of the screens is 9,40 metres, its height is about 13,0 metres, and the master places 57 compositions on it. On the iconostasion in Budapest at present 65 compositions can be seen. The Karcag iconostasion is 7,60 metres wide, about 10 metres high and is decorated with 58 compositions.

The screens in Eger and Miskolc shut donot off the altar in a straight line. Some of the many other iconostasions built with the same structure in Hungary are for example those in the Baja church or in the episcopal church in Szentendre. In the case of these iconostasions the curve is not rectangular; it is only in one-panel width that the lower unit of the screen diverges from the direct line in an acute angle. The Miskolc screen curves in right angle at the two ends in two panel width. It is not only the lower unit that bends here, but the panels placed in the lunette as well. The above architectural solution of the Miskolc screen is unique in Hungary.

The iconostasions in Eger and Miskolc try to occupy the greatest possible space in the church not only with its height filling in the whole lunette and closing the altar area in its full height but with its width and also its depth created by the curve. The screens cover part of the stone architecture, occupying a certain portion of it. The effort to build in the third dimension too can be felt in the fact that it is not only flat but convex panels as well that the master placed on the screen. In Miskolc the convex panels are a throne-icon on both sides of the Holy Gates, the panels below them, the panels of the middle axis of the two Church Feasts' tiers above them. The most exposed panels in Eger and Budapest are convex as well. In Budapest it is the two throne-icons on both sides of the Holy Gates that are convex as well. In Eger it is the two throne-icons on both sides of the Holy Gates that are convex. At the same time there are some concave panels on the Eger screen to exploit local possibilities: the outside panels of the throne-icons tier and the Church Feasts and the Apostle tiers, the ones which are placed outside of the straight line of the screen.

The Karcag screen consists of only flat panels.

In Eger, Miskolc and Budapest the architectural sections of the screens above the Holy Gates and below the God's Eye compositions project in arches helping to occupy depth in space. In Karcag it is only below the God's Eye composition that the image-carver formed entablatures projecting in curves.

The Budapest and Karcag iconostasions close the space in a straight

line. One the one in Karcag there are no convex or concave panels. All these show the intention to reach a calmer architectural solution tending to the style of classicism.

The four screens are proportioned up to the height of the two lower tiers either by five protruding columns with very high pedestals and Corinthian capitals or by pilasters decorated with acanthus leaves and geometrical motives. The high pedestals are always prismatic and reach the height of the lower row of icons. The pilasters consisting of ribbons wreathing into each other are characteristic. The prismatic pedestals are not always in right angles to the screens, sometimes the master turned their arris out. The prismatic, non-decorated elements on the columns are turned out as well. The latter architectural elements are part of the entablatures. The entablatures are unique, they mark out the works by Miklós Jankovicz. In the cases of screens in Eger, Miskolc, Budapest they separate the tiers horizontally but not in a straight line. With the exception of the uppermost entablature closing the lower unit, they are toothed and lunging forward in space. They lend rhythm to the whole of the screen. These entablatures with throbbing lines are characteristic only of the works by master Jankovicz. In this respect these three iconostasions are unique among the Hungarian screens.

In the case of the Karcag screen, which is the latest one, the prismatic pedestals of the columns proportioning the two lower rows are always perpendicular to the screen. Horizontally the entablatures always divide the rows in straight lines. Not only the architecture of the screen, but its architectural moulding is calmer as well, it does not make use of the vehement lines characteristic of the baroque style.

The third tiers in Eger, Miskolc and Budapest are dominated by twisted columns with high pedestals and Corinthian capitals. Between certain panels there can be seen pilasters consisting of ribbons and having capitals decorated with acanthus leaves. The high pedestals of columns framing the panels in the middle axes of all the three iconostasions are exceptionally decorated, protruding, and arched many times.

The fourth tiers in Eger and Miskolc are proportioned by simple rounded columns with high pedestals standing out of the level of the screens and pilasters with capitals decorated with acanthus leaves. The columns holding the fourth row in Budapest are not in their places. In Karcag the third and fourth rows are vertically proportioned by columns of almost the same design. The panel of the middle-axis is framed by wreathed columns with high pedestals and Corinthian capitals, the other panels are surrounded by protruding,

rounded columns with high pedestals and Corinthian capitals. The columns of the fourth row are placed on low pedestals.

The architecture of the four Holy Gates are similar. They do not fill in the whole gateway, and they do not have a framework. The door wings are the carvings themselves. The master placed two panels on both the Eger and the Miskolc Holy Gates and four panels on the Budapest and Karcag ones. The upper unit of the Holy Gates in Miskolc consists of knotted ribbons; acanthus leaves and rosebuds. On the lower part the ends of the laurel wreaths are arranged in festoons. Beside them there are carved vine-branches with huge leaves and bunches of grapes. The motives on the Eger gates are similar and they are added an extraordinary plant with a fourpetalled half-blown flower. The Holy Gates in Karcag are decorated with ribbons, rosebuds, a laurel-branch and a hardly blown tulip-like flower with four petals. The Holy Gates in Budapest and Karcag are not framed by plant branches. All the four doors are decorated with a cross placed on an adorned crown. The doorways are arched and in Eger and Miskolc they are decorated with geometrical motives and laurel branches arranged in festoons. The Budapest doorway is adorned with fringe motives and the Karcag one with a palmette. Above the Holy Gates in Eger, Miskolc and Budapest the master placed the same frame without a panel. When erecting the iconostasion in Budapest it was in this frame that they put the carved pigeons symbolizing the union of the Greek and Macedo-rumanian nations. Later, in 1806, bishop Dionisios Popovics had the pigeons removed as figural presentation alien to the orthodox religion²². In Karcag there is a painted panel in this not arched but angular frame.

The Diaconical Doors and their doorways are again of the same formation in all the four cases. The doors do not have separate frameworks, and do not fill in the whole doorway. There is a panel placed above the doors. The laurel wreaths arranged in two-branched festoons in the Eger and Karcag doorways remind us of the curtains hung in the doorway in the Byzantine times. The doorway carved to form a two-wing curtain in Miskolc gives rise to even stronger Byzantine reminiscence. Master Jankovics carved a curtain-motive decorated with fringes to cover the doorway in Budapest too. The doors are decorated with carved rosebuds, knotted ribbons, laurel wreaths. The top of the Diaconical Doors of all four screens are ornamented with rising palmetta leaves.

The frameworks of the throne-icons are similar in the four cases. There

22. Fűves Ö, "A pesti görögök és makedorománok galambpere" (see note 2).

are rosettes carved at the four corners. The frames consist of two separate stripes of motives. Below the panels' lower horizontal lines, and above the upper ones, which both curve in arches, are placed plant-motives other than those of the frames. The dominant motive above is the knotted ribbon interwoven with ornamentation.

All the panels with the same shape of the lower units of the screens are decorated in this way. It is common in the decoration of the panels below the throne-icons, that the carvings from above lean over the frame embracing them. The master carved huge acanthus-leaves in Eger and Budapest, while rosebuds in Miskolc and Karcag.

The dominant motive of the upper unit of the Eger iconostasion is grapevine, the long branches of which embrace the panels in the lunette. The leaves and bunches of grapes decorating the branches can be found on the upper units of the Miskolc and Karcag screens. The master placed similar vases on the edges of the lower unit of the Eger iconostasion and on the top of the upper unit of the Karcag screen.

The carvings decorating the iconostasions consist of naturalistic plant motives and geometrical ones.

The plant motives dominate the two earlier screens. Later the geometrical carvings come gradually into prominence, which shows a tendency towards classicism. As a whole the carvings bear the marks of the late baroque style with the elements of classicism. Several plait motives can be noticed. It was in the Austro-Hungarian territories that a special variety of the late baroque style, "the Louis XVI style", which had already the signs of classicism appeared most powerfully. It may lead us to the conclusion that Miklós Jankovicz mastered his woodcarving trade within this territory. Compared to Western-Catholic works of art, his screens—just as it happens in the case of the carved ornaments of other Hungarian iconostasions too—show a later appearance of baroque style and the style of classicism.

Miklós Jankovicz used the same set of motives in his works, but he never repeated himself. He carved the motives with a perfect craftsmanship and never used them arbitrarily, just to achieve outer beauty. Thus, the form became an equal vehicle of the contents. He used the motives in a severe subordination to the given place. His outstanding skills went together with humbleness towards his art, characteristic only of great artists.

The iconostasions in Eger, Miskolc, Budapest and Karcag are outstanding works of art. None of them can be placed above the others, as regards their artistic composition. When we select the Miskolc screen among them, we do it, only because it is the one that shows the greatest variety of Miklós

Jankovicz's artistic devices. It was by all means determined by the monumentality of the task and the given space. His artistic strength reaches its height when working on the Miskolc screen. He could keep the high artistic quality reached that his first work had, the Eger iconostasion, in spite of the fact that as time went on he slightly changed his late baroque style towards classicism.

His works radiated harmony. Let us try to define the source of this harmony. The architectural elements, flat panels and carvings have a quantitatively equal role in the structure made up of them. These iconostasions are not decorated flat walls but compositions of architectural elements, flat panels and carvings in equal proportions, standing at the most exposed spot of the church interior. Besides the quantitative balance of the three components, their unified late baroque stylistic appearance, with the elements of classicism as well, contributes to the fact that they have an equal aesthetic role in the structure of the whole screen.

The architectural elements, the shapes of the panels and the carvings are in total harmony with each other; and the three components, together and separately, are in harmony with the church interior as well, they seem to grow out of it. All these together result in the harmony radiating from the iconostasions. We dare to state that Miklós Jankovicz was not only one of the most skilled orthodox wood-carvers in Hungary, but the most talented builder of iconostasions as well.

In the Eger and Miskolc churches master Jankovicz prepared the cantor's chair, the throne of God's Mother and the throne of the bishop as well. Their architecture and decorative carvings are organical extensions of the iconostasions. In all four churches, on their northern walls, he carved pulpits as well, presumably under the influence of western catholic environment and at the request of the customers. Though it is hardly perceptible, their decorative carvings repeat those of the screens. Their relatedness stressed in this mild way is recognized subconsciously by the viewer.

In 1797, Miklós Jankovicz made a Holy Sepulchre composition in the Saint Nicholas church in Eger. To its special fascination, neither the architectural nor the decorative elements were gilded so the wooden composition carved with high skills can be admired in its original beauty. The Holy Sepulchre is decorated with a Golgotha-composition. The Crucifix in the middle stands on a coloured heap of stones, and a painted snake is coiling up it. On the northern and southern sides of the Crucifix the master placed the painted panels of God's Mother and John, the Evangelist, on heaps of stones. The panels are surrounded by unpainted plant-ornamentation. This composi-

tion evokes Balkan reminiscence. From the 16th century on, the iconostasions at Athos, in Macedonia and Ancient Serbia are decorated with similar compositions under Dalmatian influence²³. Hungarian iconostasions are rarely crowned by such a composition. Miklós Jankovicz himself did not decorate his screens with it. The fact that he still carved the Golgotha-composition in this manner makes us think that he felt the motives of southern areas as his own.

Hungary

23. M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, *Srednevekovni duborez u izstocnim oblastima Jugoslavije*, Beograd, 1965, p. 59-60.

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Bersülety Ármu Egeri Magistrátus

Az alább írt aláíratósan díjazottja
 Ben. B. N. Magistratus naki Kegyzo.
 Pzme előtt; Hogy mivel már ide-
 jött Egeri Városgyeből Hamu-
 jót, mozdító Városból, is itt Eger
 Városában levő Kivannya magat-
 tenni minden torokbucuk Portaxasnak
 s Taxatának hely levő Város helyre
 egyfajsmind Rengerlaguak elve-
 nalo de factijével alajatosnak.
 Itál az B. N. Magistratusnak ke-
 gyzo, de azó bi Várossejje vegat
 aladónn hogy meg mar adfka-
 mint 1886 bersülety Renger mefex
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 Hogy mivel már Moste s igit is
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 engedelmé w. illt. ej egy faja s nje
 godalmos Lakaffa Végét meg is-
 alkedott, volu, mellyen egy bje.
 nyos Guidetis Kivanna dulteg
 Kéjre tenmij tétetm, Azokacsa
 az Földeser Kiványi Keadel's
 Zexim, az helynek megó Város
 Lakaffa siet Tanács belé urakat
 alajatosan Instal mint Deputa.
 tnyolat Magistratusnak Ex
 mitaltatni. Eger 10 Julij 1789.

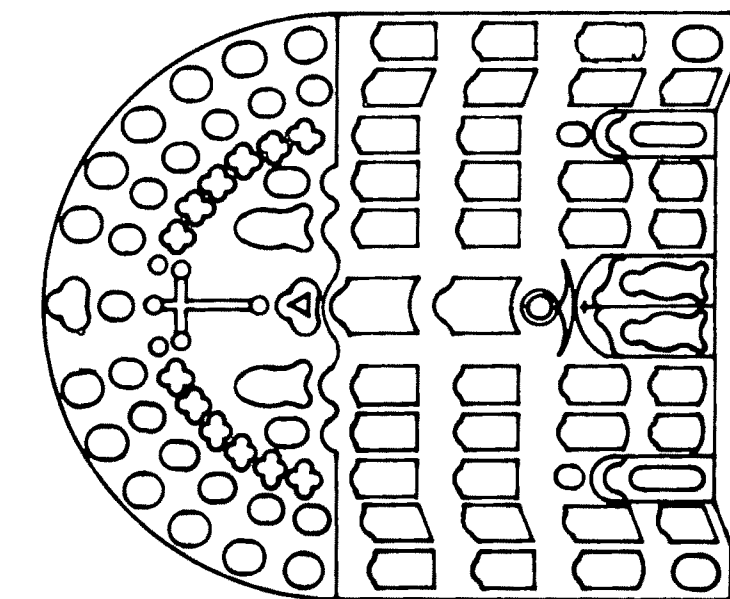
Jy van a Városgyeből
 Hamu s Városból
 való Dankoier Miklós
 Kéj Farago mefex.

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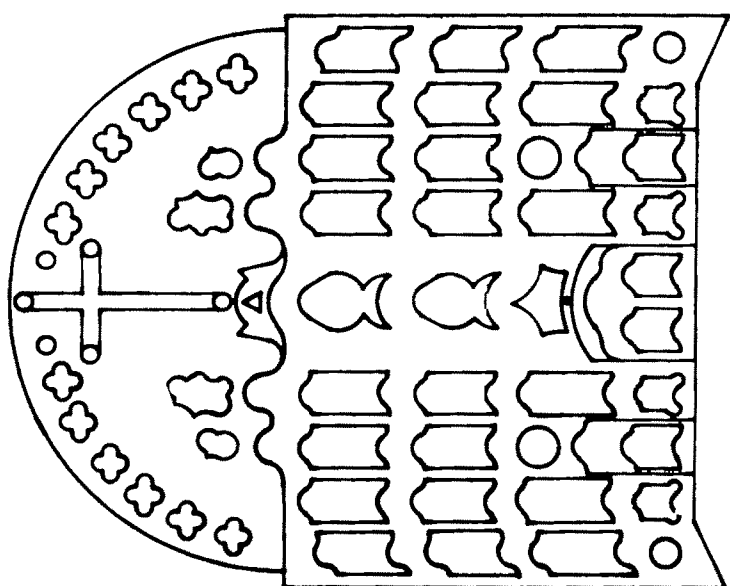
Berillius, Dominus Iosephus Királyi
 Senator, & Notarius Michael Rayonaj
 ad instantiam Agre decumbentis Ius
 lai Iuriorum pro excipienda Comenda
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 hanc Testamentaria Dispositio sua
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 Fel 875 Per Iosephum Simonij
 Notarium

I. Iosephus Királyi
 Senator, & Notarius Michael Rayonaj
 ad instantiam Agre decumbentis Ius
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 hanc Testamentaria Dispositio sua
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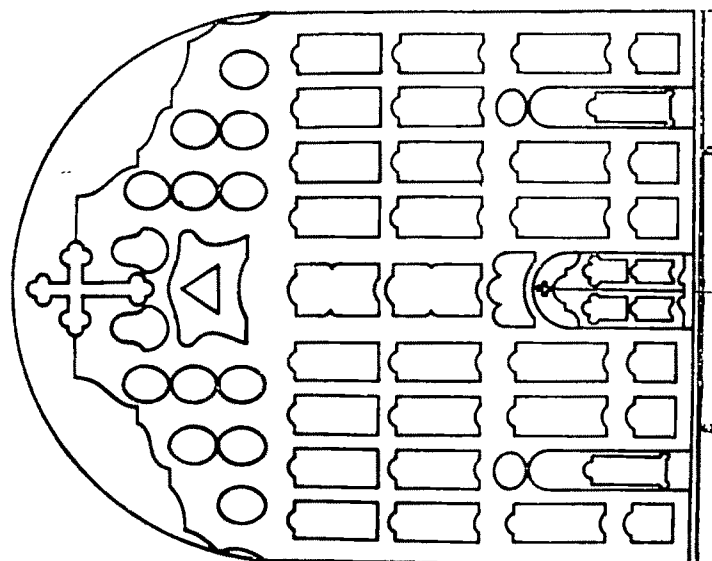
2. Last will of Miklós Jankovicz from 1815.



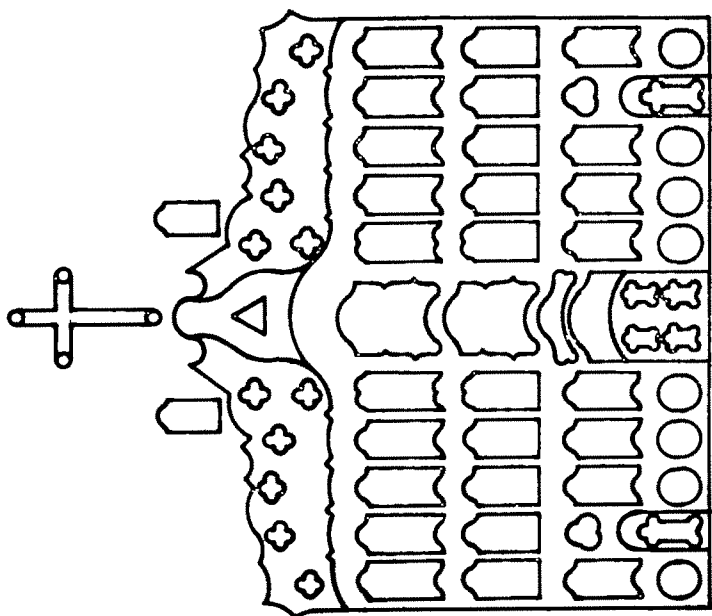
4. Scheme of the iconostasion in Miskolc.



3. Scheme of the iconostasion in Eger.



6. Scheme of the iconostasion in Karcağ.



5. Scheme of the iconostasion in Budapest.



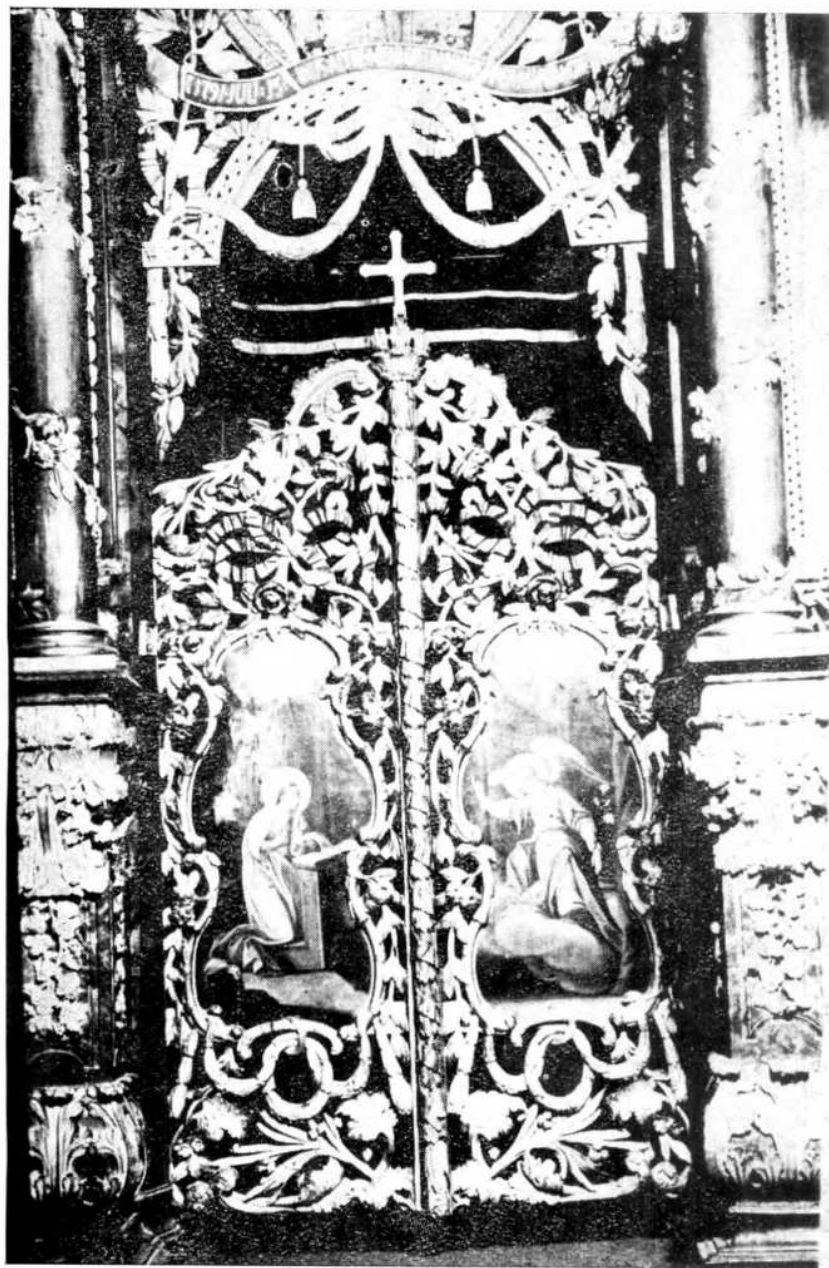
1. Iconostasion in the St. Nicholas Church in Eger.



2. Detail from the upper part of the iconostasion in Eger.



3. Throne-icon from the iconostasion in Eger.



4. Holy Gates of the iconostasion in the Holy Trinity Church in Miskolc.



5. Northern Diaconical Door from the iconostasion in Miskolc.

ROXANE D. ARGYROPOULOS

A 19th CENTURY GREEK SCHOLAR IN BUCHAREST:

MIHAIL CHRISTARIS AND HIS LIBRARY*

I

In the end of the 18th century, one of the most important centers of the Hellenic Diaspora was the capital of Wallachia, Bucharest, where the Phanariote regime had considerably contributed to the formation of a large and prosperous Greek community¹. As far as education was concerned, the Hígononiki Scholi², directed at that time by the famous Epirot hellenist Lambros Photiadis³, attracted many young men from Epirus in order to complete their studies. Lambros Photiadis' attitude towards modern Greek language remained conservative, but in the matter of speculation he was against clerical interference and largely contributed to the change of ancient Greek teaching, introducing history and other sciences.

Among Photiadis' students was Mihail Christaris⁴, born in Jannina in 1773, who later studied medicine at the University of Padua and for more than twenty years, lived in Bucharest as a medical doctor, also playing a prominent part in cultural life as a member of the Greco-Dacian Society, founded for the spreading of new ideas in Bucharest⁵. Christaris' interest for European

* Paper presented at the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora from Antiquity to Modern Times (Montréal-Athens, April 1988).

1. Alexandru Duju, "La culture roumaine à l'époque des Phanariotes: héritage et nouvelles acquisitions", *Symposium l'Epoque Phanariote*, Thessalonique 1974, 77-83.

2. Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies Princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Thessalonique 1974.

3. On Lambros Photiadis (Jannina 1752-Bucharest 1805) see D. V. Oikonomidis, "Λάμπρος Φωτιάδης (1752-1805)", *Επιστηρίδες του Μεσαιωνικού 'Αρχαίου*, 3 (1950), 106-140. Also Stephanos Bettis, "Μιχαήλ Χρησταρής διαπρεπής Γιαννιώτης Ιατροφιλόσοφος και Φιλικός", *Ηπειρωτική 'Εστία*, 1972, 1-32 as well as Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *L'Epire et les Pays Roumains*, Jannina 1984, 227.

4. Other pupils of Lambros Photiadis were Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, D. Schinas, N. Doukas, P. Kodrikas, Z. Pop, Gr. Brincoveanu etc.

5. *Λόγιος 'Ερμής*, 1811, 49.

thought was manifested with his translation in Greek of the *Elements of Arithmetic and Algebra* of G. I. Metzberg in 1804, while a student in Padua⁶; during this period he might have written the anonymous *Greek Nomarchy*, a surmise which is still to be proved⁷.

Christaris played a prominent role in the preparation of the Greek Revolution and took part in the Sacred Bataillon of Alexander Ypsilantis. He was initiated to the Philiki Etaireia in Bucharest on August 30th 1818 at the age of forty-five by Constantine Pentedekas and offered the sum of fifty florins⁸ but later provided his entire fortune, despite the fact that he thought it was not yet the proper time for this event⁹.

During the period that Christaris had entered the Philiki Etaireia, he utilised theater as a medium for the diffusion of revolutionary ideas. In 1820, he chose Voltaire's theatrical pieces, which in France had become the tribune of radicalism and played an important part in the shaping of public opinion. Voltaire's *Méropé* and *Brutus* belong to the "republican tragedies"¹⁰, in which the author, utilizing subjects from ancient history, wrote about the conflict between absolutism and freedom; sentiments such as patriotism and justice had a direct appeal to the audience¹¹. At the same time, Christaris became interested in political and economical thought and, according to Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, he translated the *Traité d'Economie Politique* of Jean-Baptiste Say¹², the well-known French Ideologue, who gave new direc-

6. Christaris dedicates his translation to Lambros Photiadis as an expression of gratitude toward his teacher. Στοιχεία τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ Ἀλγέβρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ποτε Μέλζβουργ, μετάφρασις Μιχαὴλ Χρησταρῆ Ἐκ Παταβίου 1804. The dedication is in archaistic Greek: "Τῷ Σοφολογιωτάτῳ Διδασκάλῳ τοῦ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳς Ἡγεμονικοῦ Γυμνασίου Κυρίῳ μοι Κυρίῳ Λάμπρῳ Φωτιάδῃ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων ἐμῷ εὐεργέτῃ" (pp. III-VI): In 1791 Athanassios Psalidas had published in Vienna his own translation of Ἀριθμητικὴ πρὸς κοινὴν χρῆσιν τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος σχολείων.

7. St. Bettis, "Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Νομαρχία καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς τῆς", *Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 19 (1972), 542-549.

8. J. Philemon, *Δοκίμιον περὶ τῆς Φιλικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, Athens 1834, 27, V. Mexas, *Οἱ Φίλικοι*, Athens 1937, 14, St. Bettis, *Μιχ. Χρησταρῆς*, *op. cit.*, 4.

9. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *Cours de littérature grecque moderne*, Genève, 1827, 54.

10. St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 5, Léon Fontaine, *Le théâtre et la philosophie au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1978, 12-13, 37, J. R. Vrooman, "Voltaire's theatre: the cycle from 'Oedipe' to 'Méropé'", *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 75 (1970), 220 p. See also Anna Tabaki, "La résonance des idées révolutionnaires dans le théâtre grec des Lumières (1800-1821)", *Actes du III^e Colloque d'histoire du Centre de Recherches Néohelléniques de la F.N.R.S. "La Révolution Française et l'Hellénisme moderne"*, Athens 1989, 471-490.

11. Léon Fontaine, *op. cit.*, 32.

12. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *op. cit.*, 54.

tions to political economy, a science that was to develop in France soon after the Revolution¹³.

Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos describes him as a "patriote plein de zèle mais aussi de lumières et de clairvoyance; il était homme à mesurer la grandeur et les périls d'une Insurrection telle que celle des Grecs et il s'efforçait d'en différer l'époque; mais entraîné comme tant d'autres par le torrent impétueux et trompé par un plan, en apparence bien organisé, il s'élança dans l'arène et fut un des premiers défenseurs de notre liberté. Il sacrifia toute sa fortune pour cette cause sainte..."¹⁴. Bearing the pseudonym of Pseudomantis, he became the treasurer of the Philiki Etaireia and, according to Ilias Photinos, he was held responsible for the death of Prince Alexander Soutsos, who was not favorable to the plans of the Etaireia¹⁵. As a member of the council of Alexander Ypsilantis¹⁶ he played a considerable role between Bucharest and continental Greece where his friend Alexander Mavrocordat was directing the Revolution as well as the circle of the Metropolitan Ignatius of Arta, living at that time in Pisa¹⁷. Christaris after the defeat at Dragasani in June 7th 1821, travelled through Germany, Switzerland and Italy in order to find supporters for the Greek Revolution¹⁸. After his return to Bucharest, he stayed there for some years and probably came to Athens after 1833 and died in 1851¹⁹.

II

In Bucharest, Mihail Christaris translated for the use of Greek schools

13. Georges Gusdorf, *La conscience révolutionnaire. Les Idéologues*, Paris 1978, 532-536.

14. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *op. cit.*, 53-54.

15. Ilias Photinos, *Οι δόλοι της εν Βλαχία Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως το 1821 έτος*, éd. Emm. G. Protopsaltis, Athens, 41. About Alex. Soutsos, see *ibid.*, 20.

16. Academia Republicii Populare Române, Institutul de Istorie, *Rascoala din 1821. Eteria in Principatele Române*, vol. IV, ed. by Andrei Oteșea, Nichita Adamiloiu, Alexandru Vianu, Bucharest 1960, 67; vol. V, 265. This war council was formed except M. Christaris by Nicholas and George Ypsilanti, the brothers of Alexander Ypsilanti, George Lassanis and general Orfano, *op. cit.*, 288, 450.

17. *Ιστορικόν Αρχεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου*, fasc. 1, Athens 1963, 18 fasc. 2, Athens 1965, 22; fasc. 3 Athens 1968, 572, 650, fasc. 4 Athens 1974, 76-77. See also Emm. G. Protopsaltis, *Γενάτιος Μητροπολίτης Οὐγγροβλαχίας (1766-1828)*, Athens 1959, Academy of Athens, 167.

18. Emm. Xanthis, *Απομνημονεύματα περί της Φιλικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, Athens, 172, St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 18, 196.

19. St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 21. Christaris is held responsible also for the assassination of Tudor Vladimirescu, see St. Bettis, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

the *Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur* by Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymond (1746-1800); this work which had an enormous success expressed the pre-revolutionary French moral theory. Its author supports the view that morality depends upon four main factors: health, wealth, freedom and tranquility²⁰. In Paradis de Raymond's book, printed for the first time in 1784, the part played by society in the formation of morality is stressed as well as that of man's self-love, for as Paradis de Raymond points out "nobody thinks that only ecclesiastical and political laws are sufficient"²¹. To this Christaris replies in a footnote of his translation that "true religion is nothing else than morality drawn down from heaven; and, if all men do not follow her, the cause is to be found elsewhere and not in saintly religion. What has this so-called morality achieved so far? In any event the failure must not be attributed to her"²². For Christaris a sound knowledge of morality can even prevent political developments and he stresses out that the atrocities of the French Revolution could not have been committed if a previous education in morals had been applied²³. He thinks that morality must preserve man within society: "Morality's primary task is to manifest social links, to consolidate their principles, to prove that it is to the benefit of all concerned within society, if they are to be preserved and conserved unmolested; moreover, to show what contributes to them is the form of virtue and what harms them is the shape of vice"²⁴.

Christaris at the end of his translation of the *Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur* adds forty pages in which he comments Paradis de Raymond's philosophical ideas; in these comments we see the shaping of Christaris' philosophical thought, influenced by French liberalism as well as ancient Greek philosophy. He admits that self-love and the desire for happiness should follow reason. Self-love is, for Christaris, the basic moral principle and the foundation of the other sentiments such as interest, egoism, ambition, arrogance even instincts²⁵; self-love is focused on conservation and pleasure which is the source of all men's rational and irrational desires and the cause of his good and evil

20. Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymond, *Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur* [pour servir de prolégomènes ou de suite à la Collection des moralistes, Lyon, Barret, 1784, 2 vol. in -18 ou Paris an III (1795), 2 vol., in -16] translation in Greek by M. Christaris, Vienna 1816, 16. Christaris possessed the whole collection in his library.

21. *Ibid.*, 1ε'.

22. *Ibid.*, 1στ'.

23. *Ibid.*, 1γ'.

24. *Ibid.*, 1γ'-1ε'.

25. *Ibid.*, 1δ'.

acts. Christaris believes that man is not evil and was made good by nature even before society was created²⁶. He writes that "many ancient and modern philosophers think that man is by nature either good or evil but becomes good or evil with education, religion and politics²⁷. On the contrary others believe that man becomes good or evil only according to his nature... But for the observer of the nature of things, I mean for the observer of the animals' organism, of their acts and moral habits, and after the philosophical examination of the history of the barbarian and enlightened nations, he can be informed that nature knows without the help of culture how to make virtuous men and benefactors of humanity and that good education has also a large power over the heart of man..."²⁸.

Aristotle's influence upon Christaris' thought is to be found in his acceptance of the role played by necessity in creating social bounds between men as also in his way to approach the question of happiness which is to be found both in pleasure and virtue²⁹. He agrees as well with Thales that three principles are needed to man's happiness: health, wealth and education³⁰. Health is given by temperance as for wealth, it has social purposes, because the rich must take care of the poor; he agrees with Aristotle that wealth must be moderated and reduced by government³¹.

Ignorance is for Christaris an illness of reason and makes us unworthy to be called men³². Therefore he urges youngs to acquire education, which will give them freedom and protection against misfortune. Christaris incites the parents as well to educate their children, for education will bring happiness in their homes³³. In the frame work of education, Christaris attacks the condition of women in traditional Ottoman-Greek society, where they were excluded from schools and the existing educational system³⁴. He recognizes the need for female instruction and points out that both boys and girls should

26. *Ibid.*, 154-155.

27. About the meaning of politics in 18th century Greece see Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Η έννοια της πολιτικής στον ελληνικό στοχασμό τοῦ φθίνοντα 18ου αἰώνα", in *Philosophy and Politics*, ed. of the Greek Philosophical Society, Athens 1982, 262-267.

28. Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymond, *op. cit.*, 156.

29. *Ibid.*, 158.

30. *Ibid.*, 153.

31. *Ibid.*, 162.

32. *Ibid.*, 109.

33. *Ibid.*, 170

34. Paschalis M. Kitromilidis, "The Enlightenment and Womanshood: Cultural Change and the Politics of Exclusion", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 1 (1983), 43-46,

go to school nevertheless in the minds of most people still prevails a bad and wrong opinion that girls should not be educated"³⁵. His "feminist" attitude places him among the most radical exponents of the Greek Enlightenment: Rigbas Veletinlis, Athanassios Psalidas, Ad. Coray, Benjamin of Lesbos.

Another purpose of education is for Christaris the improvement of senses, which are imperfect; he condemns overmuch learning without reasoning and yet thinks that very few books are really worthy to be read³⁶. A considerable role in education is played by passions, which are modifications of the senses or of self-love. Passions, Christaris suggests, are neither good nor evil; he regards the measure (...) as the ideal attitude and blames both Epicurus and Zeno for their opposite theories on happiness³⁷, for passion is different from the desired object, the pleasure and the interest we can have³⁸.

Christaris was interested in the problems of translation as well as the questions of the evolution of the Greek language from its archaistic forms to more modern expressions. He believes that the level of a language is proportional to the standard of a nation's culture³⁹. Neologism is a solution for new ideas, but those who are interested in words only, rather than in things, become harmful to the nation, preventing his enlightenment⁴⁰. Although a pupil of Lambros Photiadis, known for his archaistic attitude towards the neohellenic language, Mihail Christaris became a promoter of rather romantic language theories, but was not involved in the factional quarrels of Greek Enlightenment. "I don't pretend to be the leader of any faction" he declares and remarks that it is people who produce language and scholars should only cultivate the instrument which the nation utilises in its thoughts, accordingly to the method of logic and philosophy, so that the entire nation is able to recognize language as its own property⁴¹. It remains clear that Christaris views about Greek language are essentially identical with Demetrius Katartzis' language theory, famous in his controversy with Lambros Photiadis⁴².

35. J.-Z. Paradis de Raymondis, *op. cit.*, 172, where Christaris praises Catherine Rasti, a young woman who translated in 1816 from the French a geographical book by Etienne Jouy.

36. *Ibid.*, 172.

37. *Ibid.*, 182.

38. *Ibid.*, 153.

39. *Ibid.*, ζ'.

40. *Ibid.*, ζ'-η'.

41. *Ibid.*, η'.

42. See the correspondence between D. Katartzis and L. Photiadis edited by Neophytos Doucas in his *Γραμματική*, Vienna 1812.

Christaris appears as an upholder of Katartzis, whose ideas will later be developed by Romanticism and especially by Dionysios Solomos in his *Dialogue* on language⁴³.

In his *Cours de littérature grecque moderne*, Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos writes in 1827 about Christaris that "manquant du nécessaire supporte avec un courage stoïque ses malheurs et travaille encore pour sa patrie en composant sur un plan entièrement neuf un ouvrage de Catéchisme politique"⁴⁴. These words bring us to the *Catechism of the Main Social Duties* (Κατήχησις τῶν κυριωτέρων κοινωνικῶν καθηκόντων) of Mihail Christaris, published in Bucarest in 1831. Last but not least, this work composed of 209 pages is perhaps the most representative political work of the neohellenic Enlightenment, in which Christaris, influenced by the French Catechisms (de Pradt, Morand) introduces the idea of social autonomy⁴⁵. In comparison to other works of Greek political thinkers of this period, dealing with the problem of human rights and duties, Christaris' book is the most progressive and surpasses the problematic of Rhigas Velestinlis, Benjamin of Lesbos, Constantine Koumas, Neophytos Vainvas, even that of Adamantiós Coray, all of whom saw the question of human rights and duties in the context of interindividual relations and less in that of social relations⁴⁶.

A very advanced political work, the *Catechism of the Main Social Duties* appears as an echo of the French political thought of 1789; Montesquieu, d'Holbach, Helvétius, Rousseau are cited as well as texts from the French Revolution; his political resources are the Bill of Human Rights, the works of Condorcet, Destutt de Tracy, Volney, Daunou and others. This utilization of the French revolutionary ideology proves that Christaris separates 1789 as a political event from the starting point of a new era in the field of social and political history. As many others Greek thinkers of the 19th century, Christaris applies for the French Revolution a double lecture⁴⁷. Christaris accepts Destutt de Tracy's opinion that without society there can not be human right or duty; he moreover admits that human rights and duties are regulated by political régimes⁴⁸. He thinks that political freedom is the first

43. C. Th. Dimaras, *Ἑλληνικός Ρομαντισμός*, Athens 1982, 138.

44. Iakovos Rizos-Néroulos, *op. cit.*, 54.

45. Cf. Emmet Kennedy, "The French Revolutionary Catechisms: Ruptures and Continuities with Classical, Christian, and Enlightenment moralities", *Studies on Voltaire and the 18th Century*, 199 (1981), 353-362.

46. Roxane D. Argyropoulos, "Les droits de l'homme dans la pensée morale et politique des Lumières en Grèce", *Actes du IIIe Colloque d'Histoire...*, *op. cit.*, 69-85.

47. Mihail Christaris, *op. cit.*, 34-37.

48. *Ibid.*

principle and the basis of the existence of a nation⁴⁹; freedom and wealth are social purposes with the presupposition that society must become a public authority from which every citizen's act results⁵⁰.

Christaris admits in principle three powers in the government of a state; the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, although aware of modern theories, such as that of Joseph Ray, who accepts only two powers⁵¹. Legislative power is not to be found in general will, expressed by social contract; but—as Christaris believes—law expresses the structure of society, an opinion he borrows from Benjamin Constant⁵². Law is seen by Christaris not in the way of Beccaria, Vattel, Rousseau or Tracy but as Fritot envisages it in his *Science du publiciste*: “law is in general a rule that government gives to society and that every individual must follow, when it does not overturn the natural sentiments and the principle of morality...”⁵³. In his analysis on law Christaris discusses Bentham's opinions as that of Burlamaqui⁵⁴. In general, Christaris insists on the idea that social science must lead the nations of Europe and not ignorance or superstition. In the frame of neohellenic political thought Christaris's book stands at the same level as that of Benjamin of Lesbos and Ad. Korais with his critique of nobility and his belief in equality before the law. But with his interest for the new Greek state he is very close Ioannis Kokkonis' *Pert Politeion*, published during the same period, and which intends to present to the new Greek nation patterns of political thinking not only deriving from the heritage of the Enlightenment but also from Romanticism.

III

As we have seen, Christaris, as well as Coray, combined his interests for medicine with those for literature and political thought; these trends of his personality are to be found in his library. Christaris “un très honnête homme fort instruit et dans son art et dans la littérature grecque” as F. G. Laurençon describes him in 1822, owned a very important library⁵⁵. A part of Christaris library is known to-day in a manuscript catalogue existing in the Archives

49. *Ibid.*, 69.

50. *Ibid.*, 65.

51. *Ibid.*, 96.

52. *Ibid.*, 161.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, 171.

55. F. G. Laurençon, *Nouvelles observations sur la Valachie*, Paris 1822, 115-116.

of the Kaïreios Library on the island of Andros⁵⁶. This catalogue was given in 1833 to Theophilos Kaïris⁵⁷, when the latter visited Bucharest in order to collect money and books for the school founded by him in his native island. The indication which exists at the top of the first folio of the manuscript "ἐκ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Μιχαὴλ Χρησταρῆ τοῦ Ἱατροῦ" demonstrates that here we have a part only of Christaris' Library, a selection probably made by Theophilos Kaïris; therefore this manuscript has a double importance, since it gives us the picture of a distinguished Greek scholar's library of the Diaspora, of his benevolent attitude toward his homeland⁵⁸ and, at the same time, it provides us the selection made by Theophilos Kaïris for the school of Andros. At the end of the catalogue we can read the following note written by Mihail Christaris himself: Φανέρωσις. Τὰ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καταλόγῳ σημειωθέντα βιβλία ἀφιερώνω εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἀνδρῶν Ὀρφανοτροφεῖον, τὸ ἤδη συστάινόμενον διὰ συντόνου σπουδῆς τοῦ σεβαστοῦ κυρίου Θεοφίλου Καίρη. Τούτων ἀπάντων μετὰ τὸν θάνατόν μου νὰ γείνη Κύριον, καὶ μηδεὶς τῶν συγγενῶν μου νὰ ἔχη δικαιωματικὴν τινα ἀντιποίησιν. Ταῦτα ἔγραφα ἰδιοχείρως καὶ βεβαιῶ μὲ τὴν ὑπογραφήν μου διὰ νὰ ἔχωσι τὸ ἀπαιτούμενον κύρος τῇ κα' Αὐγούστου τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ Χρησταρῆς Ἱατροῦ.

The fact that Theophilos Kaïris was the receiver of the Catalogue of Mihail Christaris' Library is testified by a phrase written in the margin and concerning a manuscript with notes from the Logic of Evγένιος Voulgaris probably a work of Lambros Photiadis. Ἀποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Ἐδγενίου [Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου]· τοῦτο ἔλαβον ἐγὼ ὁ ἴδιος ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ εἰρσισκόμενος· Θεόφιλος Καίρης.

This Catalogue consisting of 342 volumes is divided into five parts: the first deals with French books, the second with Italian books, the third with

56. D. Polemis, "Τὸ ἀρχεῖον Εὐαγγέλου Δερτούζου", *Πέταλον*, 2 (1980), 166, document 410, file no. 2.

57. About Theophilos Kaïris (1784-1853), see the recent *Proceedings of the Symposium on Theophilos Kaïris*, ed. by the Center for Neohellenic Research, National Research Foundation, Athens 1988.

58. On the diffusion of European books in the Greek space see C. Th. Dimaras, "Τὸ δυτικὸ βιβλίον στὸν ἑλληνικὸ χῶρον" as well as Loukia Droulia, "Les foyers de culture en Grèce pendant la domination ottomane: le cas des bibliothèques" both studies are published in the *Proceedings of the Symposium on The Book in Preindustrial Societies*, Center for Neohellenic Research, National Research Foundation, Athens 1982, 166-188, 189-206. Cf. Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Ἑρευνῶν Ε.Ι.Ε., *Τετράδια Ἑργασίας*, 9, "Νεοελληνικὲς Βιβλιοθήκες (17ος-19ος αἰ.)", Athens 1987, 305 p. Also *Bibliotheken und Aufklärung*, ed. by Werner Arnold and Peter Vodosek, Wiesbaden 1988, X+213 p.

books written in Latin, the fourth with Greek books and manuscripts and the fifth with German books. In the first part entitled "Livres Français" we have works from 1750 up to 1829; the older is *Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens* by the baron von Pufendorf in two volumes and the most recent are The *Esquisse* of Condorcet, the *Complete Works* of Benjamin Constant in eight volumes, the *Catéchisme Constitutionnel* by Morand and the *Mémorial Pharmaceutique* by Pierquin. These three titles give us the directions of Christaris' interests in medicine, law and social sciences. In a number of 131 volumes, 23 titles deal with subjects on law, philosophy, political economy, 20 titles concern medicine, 11 titles French literature and language, 4 titles are related to the study of the Latin, English and German languages; we also have a book of French cooking entitled *La nouvelle cuisinière bourgeoise*. Among the books concerning law and philosophy, I would like to point out the French translation of Adam Smith's *Researches on the Wealth of Nations* as that of the *Elements of Philosophy* by Douglas Stewart in 2 volumes, the *Traité de l'économie politique* by Jean-Baptiste Say in its fourth edition of 1819, the *Cours d'Economie politique* by Henri Storch, the *Eléments de la science du droit* by Lepage, the *Système de la Nature* by Mirabaud, the *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* by Condorcet, the *Essai sur les garanties individuelles* by Daunou, the *De la Réorganisation de la Société Européenne* by Saint-Simon and many others. As we see, Christaris in his library possessed the most recent books of his time on philosophy and modern political thought and had a keen interest in political science, which is testified in his work on social duties. In this catalogue we find most sources that Christaris used in the redaction of his *Catechism*. The medicine books are the next large category of Christaris' library; in the part "Libri Italiani" containing 140 volumes, we have 40 titles of works on medicine. In the part "Libri Latini" we have only 20 titles of books concerning law, medicine, botany and Latin language learning; an edition of 1591 dealing with the aphorisms of Hippocrates is the rarest book of this catalogue.

The part "Ελληνικά βιβλία" is smaller with only 17 titles of books and five titles of manuscripts; from the Greek books we can mention the theatrical drama of Eustathius Makrembolitis entitled *Τῶν καθ' Ὑσμίνην καὶ Ὑσμινίαν* from the 1792 Leipzig edition, the *Ποιήματα Ἱατρικὰ* of Dimitrios Karakassis, the Greek translation of the *Elements of Logic and Moral Philosophy* of Heinecke by Grigorie Brîncoveanu, the *Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς ἐννεστώσης ἡμῶν γλώσσης* of George Krommydis, Moscow 1808, and from the manuscripts, we have the five following titles: *ἐν Ἐπιστολάρϊον χειρόγραφον περιέχον διαφόρων ἐπιστολὰς καὶ πρόσέτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ποιήματα*

μακαρίτου Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου, ἐν Φρασάριον βιβλίον δηλονότι περιέχον φράσεις ἰδιωματισμοὺς διαφόρων συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων, ἐν Παροιμιατάριον ἑλληνικὸν χειρόγραφον, ἐν Χειρόγραφον περὶ ῥητορικῆς τέχνης Γερασίου Βλάχου, Ἀποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου⁵⁹.

The fate of Mihail Christaris' library is still unknown, for, the donation to the school of Andros never actually took place; in 1839 the school was closed, and as we know, Theophilos Kafris suffered persecutions and tragic events until his death in 1853. The catalogue of Kafris library existing in Andros today contains several titles which correspond to the Christaris' collection⁶⁰. Our researches in the Athens National Library proved fruitless, yet, perhaps a research in Roumania would reveal to us the vestige of Christaris' rich library. M. Christaris' collection as presented by this Catalogue expresses different features of his intellectual background: a bibliophile and a scientist aware of the intellectual problems of his time. The importance of this catalogue lies to the fact that we find the major sources of Christaris' thought as it appears in his *Catechism* as well as his others activities. Mihail Christaris, one of the most radical personalities of neohellenic Enlightenment⁶¹, continues in South-Eastern Europe the liberalism of the French Revolution and appears to be both a receiver and a propagator of modern ideas in this part of Europe.

Center for Neohellenic Research
National Research Foundation
Athens - Greece

59. This last manuscript, a work of Lambros Photiadis, remains unpublished.

60. A. S. Tiliakos, "Κατάλογος Βιβλιοθήκης Θεοφίλου Καίρη", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Κυκλαδικῶν Μελετῶν*, 5 (1965), 746.

61. Paschalis M. Kitromilidis, "Πολιτικός Οθμανισμός καὶ Διαφωτισμός: συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν διερεύνηση τῆς ἰδεολογικῆς λειτουργίας τῆς πολιτικῆς θεωρίας τοῦ Montesquieu", in *Philosophy and Politics*, *op. cit.*, 297-300.

*The Catalogue of M. Christakis' Books**Ἐκ τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Μιχαήλ Χρησταζή τοῦ Ἱατροῦ**Livres Français*

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Vol.</i>
Essai sur l'Histoire de la Nature par Pavoty et Coulouzan	1815	3
Elémens de la Philosophie de l'esprit humain par Dugald Stewart. traduits de l'Anglais	1808	3
Traité de l'Economie politique par J. B. Say. quatrième édition	1819	2
Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la Richesse des nations [Adam Smith] traduit de l'Anglais	1800	4
Cours d'Economie politique par Henri Storch	1823	4
Théorie des Richesses Sociales par le Comte Frédéric Skarbek	1829	2
Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens par le Baron de Pufendorf	1750	2
Science du Publiciste par Fritot	1821	
Elémens de la Science du Droit par Lepage	1820	2
Traité des principes généraux du Droit et de la Législation par Ray	1828	1
Système de la Nature par Mirabaud	1774	2
Esquisse d'un Tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain. Cinquième édition an VI républicain [Condorcet]		5
Histoire des Sciences dans la Grèce an VII républicain		5
Lettres Athéniennes traduites de l'Anglais par A. L. Villetard an XI		3
Principes philosophiques politiques et moraux par Veiss	1806	2
L'Art de parler et d'écrire correctement la langue française par Levizou	1815	2
Manuel d'Anatomiste par Maygrier. Seconde édition	1811	1
Traité complet d'Anatomie par Boyer	1810	4
Observations sur la nature et le traitement de la Apoplexie par Portal	1811	1
Manuel du Libraire par Brunet fils	1814	4
Traduction des œuvres médicales d'Hippocrate	1801	4
Physiologie d'Hippocrate	1802	1
Politique de tous les cabinets de l'Europe	1802	3
Institutions physiologiques Blumenbach traduites du Latin par Pagnet	1797	
Aphorismes d'Hippocrate traduits par Villenbrune		1
Caractères de Théophraste traduits par Levesque	1802	1
Collection des moralistes anciens		9
Traité élémentaire de Morale et de Bonheur [J.-Z. Paradis de Raymondis]	1795	2
Essai sur les garanties individuelles par Daunou	1819	1
Traité des maladies des Enfans par J. Capuron	1813	1
Cours pratique et théorique de langue latine par Lemaire troisième édition	1817	1
Principes généraux et raisonnés de la grammaire française par Restant		1
Petit Catéchisme par de Pradt	1820	1

Médecine expectante par Vitet	1803	6
Elémens de la langue Angloise par Viret	1796	1
Grammaire Allemande pratique par Meindiger	1801	1
Recherches sur l'origine du Despotisme oriental	1773	1
Collection Complète des ouvrages de Benjamin Constant		8
Traité des Maladies de la peau par P. Rayer avec des planches	1826	3
Traité sur les Gastralgies et les Entéralgies par Barras	1827	1
Nouveau Formulaire médical par Sainte-Marie	1820	1
Catéchisme constitutionnel par Morand	1829	1
Mémorial Pharmaceutique par Pierquin	1829	1
Dictionnaire Grec-François par Planche	1817	1
Dictionnaire François-Latin par Noël	1824	2
Dictionnaire François-Grec	1824	1
Dictionnaire universel de la langue françoise par Guttel	1819	2
Dictionnaire universel de la langue françoise avec le latin par Boiste. quatrième édition	1812	1
Code civil des François	1805	1
Dialogue pour la vie sociale par Beauval	1811	4
L'Europe tourmentée par la Révolution en France	1815	
La Nouvelle Cuisinière Bourgeoise	1816	
Grammaire Française simplifiée par Cartille	1803	1
Lettres Modernes par D. Villecomte	1819	1
Méthode pour entendre grammaticalement la langue latine par Gaultier	1804	2
Grammaire Latine par Boinvilliers	1815	1
Grammaire Latine de Lhomond	1813	1
La Coalision et la France	1817	1
De la Réorganisation de la Société Européenne par le Comte de Saint-Simon	1814	1
Nouvelle Méthode pour reconnaître les maladies internes de la Poitrine par Avenbrugger traduite du latin par Convisart	1808	1
Cours d'Etudes Médicales	1803	5
Relation de quelques expériences faites avec la vapeur du Goudron par Crichton	1817	1
Médecine Pratique et Moderne	1782	2
Traité des Maladies Chroniques par Martinet	1803	1

Libri Italiani

Lezioni di Fisica moderna di Moratelli	1803	4
Elementi di Chirurgia di Richter tradotti dal Tedesco da Volpi	1794	6
Istruzione Medico-pratica di Storch	1787	2
Arte d'Ostetricia di Stein tradotta dal tedesco	1805	2
Nuovi Elementi di Fisiologia di Richerand tradotti	1803	3
Istituzioni chirurgiche di Monteggier	1804	5
Compendio di nuova Dottrina medica tradotta di Brown da Raifori	1790	1

Prospetto d'un Sistema più Semplice di Medicina di Brown	1796	1
Elementi di Medicina pratica di Weicard	1802	5
Anatomia Chirurgica di Palfino	1758	3
Medicina domestica di Buchan		5
Trattato di Materia Medica di Cullen tradotto dal Conte Dalladecima	1800	6
La Chimica per le Donne 2 volumi in		1
Lezioni critiche di Fisiologia e Patologia di Tomasini	1803	3
Trattato completo delle malattie sifilitiche di Swediaur traduzione del dottor G. Greco	1802	2
Della maniera di medicare le febbri e le infiammazioni di Quarin traduzione italiana del prof. Gatti tomi quattro legati in	1796	2
Nuova Scelta di Commedie Melodrami e Tragedie di Filippi	1807	3
Raccolta di opere mediche	1806	4
Idee di Fisiologia medica di Francesco Vacra	1801	1
Sinonimia chimica farmaceutica di A. Porati	1816	1
Saggio di osservazioni cliniche di E. Horn traduzione dal tedesco	1803	4
Zoonomia di F. Darwin	1803	6
Dizionario chirurgico tradotto di G. Ferrari	1794	4
Nuovi elementi di Terapeutica e di materia medica di Alibert tradotti dal francese	1816	4
Genesi del Diritto penale di Romagnosi due tomi in uno	1807	1
Leggi fisiologiche di Mojon	1821	1
Medicina legale di Barzellotti	1819	2
Dizionario geografico portatile di Vosgien	1800	2
Nuovo Trattato di Medicina pratica di Roberto Thomas	1818	4
Del Contagio venereo di N. Barbantini	1820	4
Manuale di Patologia e Terapia tradotto dal tedesco in italiano da Balzarini	1824	2
Epitome delle istituzioni di Medicina pratica razionale di G. Barzellotti	1826	2
Trattato della gonorrea virulente ect. di B. Bell tradotto dall'inglese	1800	2
Compendio sulle Malattie veneree di I. Fritze tradotto dal tedesco da Monteggia	1806	1
Epitome delle istituzioni teorico-pratiche di materia medica farmaceutica di Barzellotti	1827	1
Mercurio delle scienze mediche diversi servicoli		
Della Peste di G. Passeri	1821	1
Grammatica della lingua francese di A. Fabre	1824	1
Le Lettere Scelte di T. Cicerone tradotte in italiano dall'abate Antonio Ambroggi	1820	1
La Medicina statica di Santorio de Santori	1784	1
Nuova Grammatica italiana e francese di L. Goudarra	1772	1
L'Arte di ricettare	1803	1
Della Cura fisica e politica dell'uomo di G. Pozzi anno repubblicano il	X	1
Lettere moderne di Villeconte	1805	1
Epistole di Cicerone ai famigliari tradotte in italiano	1794	3
Il Bagno dei bambini	1801	1

Risultati di osservazioni e sperienze sull'inoculazione del Vajaolo vac-		1
cino anno	X	1
Elementi di Medicina pratica di Guglielmo Cullen	1796	
Grammatica della lingua tedesca di D. A. Felippi	1818	1
Medicina legale e Polizia medica di Mahon	1804	3
Tossicologia pratica	1809	1
Della maniera di curare le malattie umane di P. Frank traduzione		
italiana	1815	9
Grammatica della lingua latina	1818	1
Ricerche sopra l'origine e la sede dello Scrubuto ect.	1803	1
Lezioni di Patologia ragionata del D. A. Onofrio	1815	1

Libri Latini

Institutiones medicae Curtii Sprengel	1809	4
Institutiones physiologicae Blumenbachii	1798	1
Initia institutionum clinicarum Hildembrand	1807	1
Fundamenta Materiae medicae Friderici Cartheuser		2
De Febribus Quarini		2
Epictiti Enchiridion et Cevitis Tabula		1
Institutionum Medicinae practicae Burserii	1786	8
De curandis hominum morbis Frank	1792	7
Ratio Instituti clinici Petri Frank		
Nuova Medicinae Elementa Capuron	1815	1
Formulae Remediorum ect. Hartmann	1779	1
Pharmacopea Anestriaca		1
Dictionarium novum latino-gallico-graecum	1665	1
Lexicon medicum graeco-latinum B. Castelli	1795	2
Apparatus latinae lourtionis auctore A. Scot	1613	1
Desiderii Erasmi colloquia familiaria	1713	1
Enarratio brebis Aphorismorum Hippocratis	1591	1
Herbarium Linei ήτοι Βοτανολόγιον κατά τὸ σύστημα τούτου τοῦ συγ-		
γραφέως τούτου		1
Calepinus septem linguarum	1736	1
Tulii Ciceronis Epistolarum	1771	1
Grammatica latina		1

*Ελληνικά Βιβλία

Στοιχεία τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ Ἀλγέβρας ὑπὸ τοῦ ποτε Μέλτςβουργ,		
μετάφρασις Μιχαὴλ Χρησταρῆ	1804	1
Ἀντιπανάκιον ὑπὸ Ἀναστασίου Γεωργιάδου	1801	1
Δημητρίου Καρσκάσση ποιημᾶτια Ἱατρικὰ		1
Στοιχεία τῆς Λογικῆς καὶ Ἠθικῆς Φιλοσοφίας ὑπὸ Ἀϊνεκκίου μετα-		
φρασθέντα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γρηγορίου Μπραγκο-		
βάνου		

Ἱστορία τῶν ἀρχαίων ἔθνων παρὰ συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων ὁ πρῶτος τόμος λείπει	1811	4
Συλλογὴ διαφόρων Τραγυδιῶν. Τόμος πρῶτος		
Θουκυδίδου Ὀλόρου περὶ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ Πολέμου κείμενον ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μετάφρασις Νεοφύτου Δούκα	1801	10
Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμῶν γλώσσης [Γεωργίου Κρομμύδου]	1808	1
Λεξικὸν τῆς Γαλλικῆς Γλώσσης τοῦ Ζαλίκογλου	1815	1
Ἀριστοτέλους προβλημάτων ὅσα λατρικὰ μὲ λατινικὴν ἐξήγησιν παρὰ Ludovici Septalii	1632	1
Εἰσταθίου [Μακρεμβολίτου] Τῶν καθ' Ὑσμίνην καὶ Ὑσμινίαν, Δράμα	1792	1
Ἱστορία τῆς παλαιᾶς Δακίας παρὰ Διονυσίου Φωτεινοῦ	1818	3
Ἐπικαὶ καὶ Ἑλεγειακαὶ γνῶμαι	1746	1
Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν τοῦ Πομπ. Τρόγου	1817	1
Ἀνακρέοντος Γηίου μέλη μ' ἐξήγησιν τοῦ κειμένου καὶ σχόλια Ἰταλικά	1787	1
Οἰκονομία πρακτικὴ καὶ γενικὴ πάντων τῶν τῆς ἀγροικίας κτημάτων ὑπὸ Δ. Π. Γοβδελά	1816	1

Deutsche Bücher

Praktische französische Grammatik von Meindinger	1798	1
Praktische englische Sprachlehre von Fich	1802	1
Praktische Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache von Bröder	1813	1
Lateinische Grammatik von Christian Gottlob	1820	1
Französische Sprachlehre. (Grammaire Française) von Mozin	1821	2
Neuer Französischer Briefsteller	1804	2
Französische und Deutsche Gespräche	1811	1
Deutsch-griechischer Handwörterbuch	1790	1
Praktische lateinische Grammatik	1799	1
Lateinische und deutsche Gespräche [sic] von Moser	1811	1

Προσθήκαι πέντε ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων

Ἐν Ἐπιστολάριον χειρόγραφον περιέχον διαφόρων ἐπιστολὰς καὶ προσέτι ἐγκώμια καὶ ποιημάτων μακαρίτου Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου

Ἐν Φρασάριον βιβλίον δηλονότι περιέχον φράσεις ἰδιωματισμοὺς διαφόρων συγγραφέων Ἑλλήνων

Ἐν Παροιμιατάριον ἑλληνικὸν χειρόγραφον

Ἐν Χειρόγραφον περὶ ῥητορικῆς τέχνης Γερασίμου Βλάχου

Ἀποσημειώματα εἰς τὴν λογικὴν τοῦ Εὐγενίου [Λάμπρου Φωτιάδου] τοῦτο ἔλαβον ἐγὼ ὁ ἴδιος ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ εὕρισκόμενος· Θεόφιλος Κατῆς.

STOYNA POROMANSKA

DIE FREMDWÖRTER IN DER NEUGRIECHISCHEN SPRACHE

ANALOGIE ZUM PHÄNOMEN IM BULGARISCHEN

Das Eindringen von Fremd- und Lehnwörtern hat eine wichtige Stelle unter den Erscheinungen im Neugriechischen, wie auch in den anderen Gegenwartssprachen. Die Ursachen, die diese interessante und so sehr diskutierte Erscheinung hervorrufen sind viele, aber sie sind durch die nominative Funktion der Sprache, durch die Notwendigkeit der Benennung neuer Denotate, wie auch durch eine Reihe extralinguistischer Faktoren prädestiniert (Schippan 1984: 276-277).

In der Sprachwissenschaft (Georgiev, Duridanov 1978:138) unterscheidet man zwei Arten von Fremdwörtern: Lehnwörter und Fremdwörter. Die Lehnwörter sind längst im Wortschatz assimiliert, weil sie für die Kommunikation nützlich gewesen sind. Für die entsprechenden Begriffe existieren gewöhnlich keine einheimischen Äquivalente und die *Nicht-Spezialisten* können sie schwer von den einheimischen lexikalen Fonds unterscheiden. Diese lexikalischen Einheiten passen sich den phonetischen und den morphologischen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Empfängersprache an und bilden allmählich ihr eigenes Paradigma (in bezug auf die Oppositionen Singular-Plural, Bestimmtheit-Unbestimmtheit wie auch auf wortbildender Ebene). Für völlig assimiliert wird jenes Wort gehalten, das als determinierende Basis zur Bildung von Ableitungen in Übereinstimmung mit den Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Empfängersprache dient. Als Fremdwörter gelten jene Wörter, die für die Kommunikation nicht notwendig sind und oft einheimische Ausdrucksmittel ersetzen. Man kann aber schwer eine Grenze zwischen Lehnwörtern und Fremdwörtern setzen, da der Grad und das Tempo ihrer Assimilation verschieden sind und die Chronologie ihres Eindringens nicht immer genau markiert ist. Nach Saussure (1977: 131) begeht jede lexikalische Einheit zwei Etappen (es handelt sich um Neubildungen): die Etappe des Auftauchens und die Etappe ihrer Verwandlung in eine sprachliche Tatsache. Die Fremdwörter, indem sie als neue lexikalische Einheiten existieren, begehen dieselben zwei Etappen. Es sind nicht selten die Fälle, wo ein Lehnwort sich den Eigenarten der Sprache nicht anpassen kann und als fremder Körper verworfen wird, ohne sich in eine sprachliche Tatsache

zu verwandeln und seine Stelle wird durch eine einheimische Wortbildung ersetzt, oder aber es vergeht zusammen mit der Erscheinung als Mode. Wegen dieser Schwierigkeiten übernehmen wir den Begriff "Lehnwort" als eine allgemeine Bestimmung der fremden lexikalischen Einheiten, ohne auf die Reihe von Bestimmungen für die Erscheinung einzugehen (Sieh: Ž. Maruzo, Slovar' lingvističkih terminov, Moskva, 1960; J. Vahek, Lingvističeskij slovar' Pražskoj školy, Moskva, 1964; O. S. Ahmanova, Slovar' lingvističkih terminov, Moskva, 1966; D. E. Rozental', M. A. Telenkova, Slovar'—spravočnik lingvističkih terminov, Moskva, 1976; Hadumod Busmann, Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1983; Br. Bartschat u.a., Lexikon der sprachwissenschaftlichen Termini, Leipzig, 1985).

Der Prozeß des Eindringens von Fremdwörtern ist nicht neu und begleitet die sprachlichen Kontakte zwischen den entwickelten Völkern. Man redet nicht umsonst sogar von einer Internationalisierung bestimmter Schichten der Lexik der Gegenwartssprachen (Pärvev 1979:119), die in den letzten Jahrzehnten sehr intensiv ist. Das betrifft besonders die wissenschaftliche terminologische Schicht, wo das Bestreben nach Unifizierung und Standardisierung der nominativen Einheiten besteht. Diese Tendenz breitet sich in letzter Zeit spürbar auf die kulturelle und die politische Lexik aus (in der letzten überwiegen unserer Meinung nach die gleichwertigen Übersetzungen). Die gegenseitige Wirkung in diesen Sphären hat jahrhundertlange Wurzeln und wird sich in Zukunft fortsetzen, aber sie muß die nationale Identität der einheimischen Phrase und letztlich der Sprache nicht gefährden. Die Beispiele in dieser Hinsicht sind nicht wenig. Hier sind einige. "Njakoј den hepāningite, pārformans art, sklupturite i pejzažite na minimalizma i konceptualizma šte sāšttestvuvat glavno na požālteli fotografii i v njakolko muzejni eksponata" (Zeitschrift "LIK", Nummer 34, 2.8.1985). Von den insgesamt 16 vollständigen Wörtern (Gesamtzahl-23, Dienstwörter-7), 10 sind fremder Herkunft. Des öfteren dringen die Gegenstände und Erscheinungen und die damit verbundenen Begriffe ins Leben eines Volkes durch seinen Verkehr mit einem anderen Volk ein. Je größer die Verbreitung dieses Gegenstandes, desto schneller wird die entlehnte Benennung von den Trägern der Sprache aufgenommen und allmählich assimiliert. Z. B. Gr.—ο κομπιούτερ, το κομπιουτεράκι, η τούτιέρα; Bulg.—kompjutār, kompjutären, kompjutārizacija, gril. Unabhängig von den zahlreichen gleichwertigen Übersetzungen, falls das Fremdwort einmal eingedrungen ist und sich verbreitet hat, ist es schwierig von der einheimischen Benennung ersetzt zu werden. Nach B. Ovadiewa (1977:323) wird der englische Terminus "computer" im Bulgarischen durch mehr als acht Termini wiedergegeben (mit den Abkürzungen)—elektronno-smetačna mašina

(ESM), elektronno-izčislitelna mašina (EIM), avtomatična smetačna mašina (ASM), kompjuter, kompjutär uswr. Die Autorin schlägt die Wortbildung smetač (smjatam) als Übersetzung vom Englischen "computer" (compute = rechnen) vor, was aber nicht imstande ist, das tief in die Sprache und ins Leben der Träger der bulgarischen Sprache eingedrungene englische Wort zu ersetzen. Es ist nicht überflüssig die Meinung von E. Georgiewa (1983:15) in Erinnerung zu rufen: "Der technische Fortschritt hat sich viel schneller als die sprachliche Entwicklung erwiesen und besonders was das Tempo anbelangt, mit welchem die Spezialisten ihre Beziehung zur Notwendigkeit, eine bulgarische Terminologie auszuarbeiten, verändern. Deswegen kann die einheimische Terminbildung immer noch nicht die Errungenschaften im materiellen Gebiet einholen". Man kann immer noch nicht z.B. bulgarische gleichwertige Benennungen für die Begriffe der Elektronik wie floidiskovo ustrojstvo, displei, terminal printer, ploter, interfeis, harduer, softuer, kursor, string herausfinden, obgleich man in einigen Publikationen sich Mühe gibt einen Ausweg zu suchen, z.B. niz statt string, pečataščo ustrojstvo statt printer (L. Dančev, Kompjutärät i cistotata na našija ezik, Zeitung "Narodna kultura", 21.6.1985).

Die gleichen gesellschaftlichen Zustände bewirken eine ähnliche Nomination. Deswegen kann man als Anachronismus den Kampf gegen die Fremdwörter und besonders den extremen Purismus als eine Erscheinung in der gegenwärtigen Welt intensiver Kontakte in allen Gebieten des gesellschaftlichen Lebens bezeichnen (Murdarov 1977:321), denn sehr oft werden von der internationalen terminologischen Schicht schon existierende Termini aufgenommen oder sie werden durch Übersetzung eines oder aller Elemente kalkiert. Nach dem selben Autor fehlt aber im Bulgarischen immer noch das Kriterium, unter welchen Bedingungen und in welchen Fällen man Termini von der internationalen oder von der fremden Terminologie entlehnen kann. Diese Feststellung gilt für das Bulgarische wie auch für das Neugriechische. Deswegen muß jedes Lehnwort selbstständig betrachtet werden und nicht isoliert vom System, dessen es Element ist.

Was das Neugriechische betrifft, so verbindet man den Anfang des Prozesses des Eindringens vieler fremder Ausdrucksmittel mit der Periode Alexanders des Großen (Triantaphyllidis-Τριανταφυλλίδης 1941:2), als die Sprache den Bedürfnissen der Kommunikation gerecht werden und sich in ein verständnisvolles Mittel zum Kontakt zwischen den Völkern des riesigen Staates verwandeln sollte.

Die größeren Schichten von Fremdwörtern, die in die griechische Sprache in verschiedenen Perioden ihrer Entwicklung eindringen, sind laut Triantaphyllidis wie folgt (1941:94-99): hebräisch durch die Evangelien und das

Christentum, latein in den letzten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderten und zur Zeit des Östlichen römischen Staates, Wörter von den Balkansprachen, italienisch dank den politischen, kulturellen und Handelsbeziehungen, die auch während des türkischen Jochs dauerten, türkisch während des Jochs, die nachher stark abnahmen, arabische Wörter über die türkische Sprache, später Wörter von den europäischen Sprachen, vor allem französische und englische. Während der Renaissance und dank den Beziehungen Griechenlands zum Westen und besonders zu Frankreich beginnt der Prozeß des Eindringens vieler vor allem französischer Wörter, welche die für die damalige griechische Wirklichkeit neue Begriffe auf dem Gebiet der Entwicklung der Wissenschaft, der Kunst, der Mode usw. widerspiegeln sollten. Über das Französische dringen viele englische Wörter ein. Zu Beginn des 20. Jh. beginnt die sprachliche Expansion der englischen Sprache. Heute verdrängen die englisch-amerikanischen Lehnwörter die französischen und machen die bedeutendste Schicht der Fremdwörter in der neugriechischen Sprache der letzten Periode ihrer Entwicklung aus. Es gibt Fälle, wo französische Wörter lateinischer Herkunft, die zur internationalen Lexik gehören (η $\rho\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\psi\iota\acute{o}\nu$), immer häufiger durch dieselben Wörter aber schon mit einem englischen Klang verdrängt werden z.B. η $\rho\eta\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\psi\upsilon\nu$ (Sieh auch: Carstens B., Galinsky H., Amerikanismen der deutschen Gegenwartssprache, Heidelberg, 1963).

Nach J. Molchowa (1979:228) beginnt auch im Bulgarischen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg der Prozeß des massenhaften Eindringens englischer Wörter, hauptsächlich Substantiva vor allem auf dem Wege der spezialisierten Terminologie von allen Gebieten der Technik. Einige davon, laut derselben Autorin, sind im Lexikon jedes Bulgaren anwesend (*bojler, bolt, džin*). Hier soll man auch die Vielzahl ganz neuer lexikalischen Einheiten manchmal schwer verständlicher Benennungen aus dem Gebiet der Musik, des Sports, des Tourismus (*šou, kǎntri, klin, trilǎr, sǎrfing-sǎrf, ofie, čartǎr*) erwähnen. Anlässlich des Eindringens von Fremdwörtern (hauptsächlich vom Englischen) und der Reinheit der Schriftsprache hat man bei uns wie auch im Ausland oftmals Alarm geschlagen (z.B. die Diskussion auf den Seiten der Zeitung "Narodna kultura" Dez. 1985-1986).

Es wäre interessant, einen Blick auf die englische Sprache selbst zu werfen, welche eine der reichsten und am meisten verbreiteten Sprachen ist und in welcher mehr als die Hälfte der Wörter Lehnwörter vorwiegend vom Französischen sind (Georgiev, Duridanov 1978:137). Interessant sind die Angaben anlässlich der Auffüllung der englischen Lexik in den letzten Jahrzehnten auf der Basis der Neologismen im Wörterbuch von Barnhart (Žluktenko 1983: 146-153). Von insgesamt 5000 Neologismen 314 sind Lehnwörter von an-

deren Sprachen, d.h. 6,28%, unter denen die erste Stelle als Sprache-Quelle das Französische einnimmt (33,5%), abrupt fällt die Anzahl der Lehnwörter vom Deutschen (von 20,8% auf 5,1%), es steigt der Prozentsatz der Lehnwörter vom Japanischen (8,5% gegen 2,2%), das schon die zweite Stelle nach dem Französischen einnimmt u.a. Bemerkenswert für die Sprachforscher und die Soziolinguisten ist die steigende Anzahl der Lehnwörter von den Sprachen der Entwicklungsländer auch der afrikanischen Völker. Man kann, annehmen, daß einige dieser Wörter über das Englische in die anderen europäischen Länder eindringen (z.B. Safari). In bezug auf die verschiedenen Kategorien der Redeteile kommt den Substantiva der größte Teil zu. Es folgen die Adjektiva usw. In thematischer Hinsicht hat sich die Anzahl der Fremdwörter von der thematischen Gruppe "Kultur" fast verdoppelt. Man kann sagen, daß als Ergebnis der Tendenz zur Internationalisierung, Unifizierung und Standardisierung, wovon schon oben die Rede war, diese Charakteristika für die Mehrzahl der Gegenwartssprachen typisch sind.

Zu den Zielen dieses Aufsatzes wurden griechische Zeitungen, Zeitschriften, Rundfunksendungen, wie auch einige alltägliche Gespräche verfolgt und exzerpiert ("Ριζοσπάστης" 1.1.1979-30.6.1979, "Βήμα" 15.5.1981-31.7.1981, "Καθημερινή" 1.10.1981-15.12.1981, einzelne Blätter von "Τα Νέα", "Ακρόπολις", "Βραδυνή", "Εφημερίς της κυβέρνησεως", "Το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο"), wie auch Rundfunksendungen während der Monate Juni, Juli und August 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, die auf Tonband mit Gesamtdauer von 690 Minuten aufgenommen wurden. Es wurden 3837 lexikalische Einheiten auf Karteikarten aufgetragen, davon 771 Wörter fremder Herkunft. Das Material bezog sich auf verschiedene Thematik-Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur und Alltägliches. Von der Gesamtzahl wurden 2700 Karteikarten verarbeitet, welche die interessantesten Erscheinungen im Neugriechischen registrieren, davon 340 Lehnwörter. Die analysierten lexikalischen Einheiten wurden in einem Index (Poromanska 1985-Index) der Neologismen eingeschlossen, der die oben angeführte Zeitspanne umfasst.

Wir möchten die Schwierigkeiten unterstreichen, vor die jeder gestellt wird, der sich mit der Erforschung des Neugriechischen befaßt und zwar wegen des Mangels an wesentlichen Analysen auf synchroner Ebene; es fehlt ein maßgebendes Wörterbuch der neugriechischen Sprache (es fehlt immernoch ein Wörterbuch der Athener Akademie), es fehlt auch ein Lexikon der Fremdwörter im Neugriechischen. Bis vor kurzem wurden die Lehnwörter in die herausgegebenen Wörterbücher mit Ausnahme für völlig assimilierte Wörter nicht eingeschlossen. Wegen des Fehlens von Handbüchern werden wir auf unseren Korpus angewiesen, wie auch auf die Umgebung, in der die betreffen-

den Einheiten registriert worden sind. Was die Semantik betrifft, so meinen wir, daß die Analyse nach thematischen Gruppen besonders geeignet ist und wir werden versuchen auf die wesentliche, in welche die Fremdwörter eindringen, einzugehen.

Es war schon die Rede vom Anwachsen des Zustroms von Lehnwörtern in die thematische Gruppe "Kultur", die sogenannte "Kulturlexik", die wegen ihres Eindringens in die Alltagsrede noch als Kulturalltagsrede bekannt ist. Das Neugriechische macht keine Ausnahme. Die Wörter dringen durch die Massenmedien, die Mode, den Tourismus ein, Sphären, mit denen der größte Teil der Bevölkerung in einem direkten Zusammenhang steht. Viele Wörter dringen durch das Fernsehen ein, z.B. το χιτ παραίτητ (hit-Engl., parade-Engl.), το κουίζ (quiz-Engl.), το θρίλλερ (thriller-Engl.), μουσική κάντρυ (country-Engl.), ο σούπερμαν (superman-Engl.), το βίντεο-η βιντεοκασέττα (video-europ.-Lat.).

Die Wörter werden gewöhnlich mit ihrer Grundbedeutung entlehnt, worauf sie ihren semantischen Umfang durch Benennung auch von anderen Erscheinungen oder Gegenständen, oder durch eine nahe semantische Nuance erweitern können. Besonders interessant aus unserem Korpus ist die Anwesenheit des Substantivs η κουλτούρα (lateinisch "cultura"). Wegen des Bestehens aber des ausdrucksvollen griechischen Wortes ο πολιτισμός, das von Korais geschaffen wurde und parallel mit der Entwicklung der neugriechischen Kultur sich durchgesetzt hat, haben die heutigen Träger der griechischen Sprache die beiden lexikalischen Einheiten gegenüber gestellt, indem sie dem Lehnwort eine humoristische und manchmal sogar satirische Nuance gegeben haben. Z.B. Οι Νεοέλληνες έχουμε κουλτούρα και είναι για τούτο δεξιά και δεν μπορούσε να είναι αλλιώς. Όσο δεξιότερα τόσο περισσότερη κουλτούρα (B. 1.2.1981). Auf Grund dieser negativen Bedeutung des Substantives ist das Adjektiv "κουλτουριάρικος" wie auch das abgeleitete Substantiv "ο κουλτουριάρης" mit der Bedeutung "Snob", gewöhnlich Plural (οι κουλτουριάρηδες) aufgetaucht, z.B. κουλτουριάρικη γεολαία, κουλτουριάρικες διακοπές. Es wird selbstverständlich auch als Synonym des griechischen Wortes ο πολιτισμός gebraucht. Z.B. Γνωστή και δεδομένη η ευαισθησία του Προέδρου στα θέματα κουλτούρας (B. 12.9. 1981).

Am schwächsten, unserer Meinung nach, ist der Widerstand gegen das Eindringen von fremden Ausdrucksmitteln in die Alltagsrede, z.B. το σουπερμάρκετ (super merkt-Engl., supermarket-Amer., super-Bulg. statt des älteren hali, halle-Fr.), η τοστιέρα (toster-Engl.), auch το τοστάδικο, μπεϊμπυσίτερ-ς (babysitter-s-Engl.), η μπουάτ (boîte-Fr.). Besonders schmerzlos ist das Ein-

dringen von Fremdwörtern bei den Jugendlichen. Im Leben der jungen Leute in Westen ist der Begriff "Rocker" aufgetaucht, der im Neugriechischen mit dem japanischen Wort *καμικάζι* aus dem Zweiten Weltkrieg benannt wird (roker-Bulg.).

Im Bulgarischen wie auch im Neugriechischen wird eine große Willkür beim Gebrauch von Fremdwörtern auf dem Gebiet des Sports zugelassen. Es werden bekannte Benennungen durch fremde ersetzt, es entstehen neue Sportdisziplinen, welche direkt mit ihrem fremden Namen eindringen. Es wird immer häufiger in dieser thematischen Gruppe der Gebrauch des englischen Wortes "meeting"-το μήτιγκ beobachtet, obwohl das entsprechende Wort η συνάντηση den Inhalt des Begriffes völlig deckt und vor dem Eindringen des zitierten englischen Wortes die Kommunikation bedient hat.

Die Integration (politische und wirtschaftliche) Griechenlands mit Europa hat den Prozeß des Eindringens von Fremdwörtern in die politische und wirtschaftliche Lexik vor allem durch die Massenmedien aktiviert. Unserer Meinung nach, wie wir schon gezeigt haben, überwiegen in der politischen Terminologie die gleichwertigen Übersetzungen (Äquivalente) wegen der auswirkenden Funktion der Texte mit publizistischem Charakter. Es ist spürbar daß sich die Anzahl der festen Redewendungen oder Übersetzungen von Westsprachen durchgesetzt hat, z.B. η διπλή κατεύθυνση/προσέγγιση (doppel Beschluss-Deutsch), το μηδενικό όριο, η επιλογή μηδέν, η προοπτική μηδέν, η μηδενική επιλογή (Nulloption, Null-Lösung-Deutsch). In dieser Sphäre ist sichtbar am stärksten das Bestreben, den Inhalt des Begriffes am genauesten und am vollständigsten wiederzugeben, das aus dem Gebrauch einiger Wortbildungen-Synonyme zu verstehen ist, z.B. η αποπυρηνικοποιημένη ζώνη, η απόραυλη ζώνη, η απυρηνική ζώνη (letzlich B. 21.2.1988). Im politischen und besonders im wirtschaftlichen Gebiet muß die Information auf die schnellste Weise übergeben werden. Eben werden deswegen die Lehnwörter ohne jegliche Änderungen- mit den phonetischen und morphologischen Besonderheiten der Sprache-Quelle aufgenommen, z.B. ο (η) ρεπόρτερ-οι ρεπόρτερς (reporter-Engl.), ο κάμεραμαν-οι κάμερσμεν (man-men-Engl.), ο μάνατζερ-οι μάνατζερς (manager-Engl.). Die Merkmale für Plural in den zitierten englischen Wörter unterscheiden sich von denen im Neugriechischen und verraten den Trägern der Sprache nicht die grammatische Bedeutung des Fremdworts mit Ausnahme des Artikels, besonders die Veränderung im Lehnwort οι κάμερσμεν. Vgl. Bulg. репортер statt reportior, reporterka-reportiorka, reporterski-reportiorski (und schon begriuen wir dem abgeleiteten Verb reporterstvam). Oft finden wir im Neugriechischen το σλόγκαν (slogan-Engl.) statt το σύνθημα, το πόστερ (poster-Engl.), η

πρεσ-κόνφερανς (pressconference-Fr., Lat. conferentia) statt η συνέντευξη τύπου. Die treffende Neubildung η δημοσκόπηση wie auch die ältere η σφυγμομέτρηση werden in letzter Zeit durch το γκάλλοπ (gallup-Engl.) ersetzt. In der Zeitungen lesen wir τσεκ-απ στα γεγονότα statt η επισκόπηση των γεγονότων (check-up-Engl.). Im Neugriechischen werden auch einige Mischwörter gebraucht-mit griechischen und fremden Bestandteilen z.B. ο(η) σεξοπαιδαγωγός (sex-Engl., παιδαγωγός-Gr.), το τηλερεπορτόζ (τήλε-Gr., reportage-Fr.), το τηλεκοντρόλ (τήλε-Gr., contrôle-Fr.). Das letzte Wort wird manchmal von der Erklärung η επιλογή προγραμμάτων με πλήκτρο begleitet. Die doppelte Nomination (fremde und einheimische) ist keine seltene Erscheinung im Neugriechischen und ist ein Ausdruck der Bestrebung, einheimische Äquivalente zu finden. Diese Bestrebung ruft bei jedem, der sie feststellt, eine Befriedigung hervor, weil in einigen Fällen die parallel gebrauchte einheimische Benennung vom größeren Teil der Sprachgemeinschaft aufgenommen wird. Solche sind die Fälle mit den semantischen Neologismen: Substantiva η σύγκληση (convergentia-Lat.), οι συγκυρίες (coniunctura-Lat.), z.B....η θεωρία της σύγκλησης (convergency) (B. 11.5.1981), ...η καπιταλιστική και η σοσιαλιστική ολοκλήρωση (integration) ... (P. 1.7.1979). Selbstverständlich sind ähnliche Fälle nicht viel, aber sie sind dennoch für die Stärke der einheimischen Tradition bei den wortbildenden Prozessen im Neugriechischen vielsagend. Wir finden noch statt το ντιζάιν (design-Engl.), βιομηχανική μορφολογία, statt το πολιτικό μάρκετινγκ (marketing-Engl.), η πολιτική διαφήμιση, statt το σουπερμάρκετ-η υπεραγορά. Die neugriechische Wortbildungen aber decken nicht immer völlig den Inhalt des neuen Begriffes. Nik. Gorzis in seiner Anmerkung «Σωματοδομικά» (Καθημερινή, 17.10.1981) schätzt als unangebracht die Neubildung ο σωματοχτίστης statt μπόντυ-μπλιντερ-ς (body bilder-Engl.), die nach dem Autor die ältere ersetzte, welche auch viele Ableitungen bildete ο σωματοδόμος-η σωματοδομία, η σωματοδομική, σωματοδομικά.

Besonders bemerkenswert ist, unserer Meinung nach, eine rein griechische Erscheinung, die Wiederkehr von Wörtern griechischer Herkunft, die in anderen, am häufigsten in europäischen Sprachen aufgetaucht sind und sich dort durchgesetzt haben. Diese lexikalischen Einheiten kehren einigermaßen phonetisch und morphologisch verändert in die Heimat zurück. Zu dieser Kategorie gehört eine representative Gruppe, Substantiva mit der Endung -ικη, die der französischen Endung altgriechischer und lateinischer Herkunft-tique entspricht z.B. η τηλεματική, η κυβερνητική, η προβληματική, η θεματική, vgl. im Bulg. kibernetika, problematika, tematika. Obwohl diese Substantiva phonetisch und morphologisch sich von den ein-

heimischen mit der Endung -ικη nicht unterscheiden, klingen sie immernoch fremd, vielleicht weil sie sich mit dem Substantiv η τέχνη nicht verbinden lassen, wie die Substantiva auf -ικη, die auf einheimischer Basis als Adjektiva-Attribute des Substantivs η τέχνη entstanden und später substantiviert worden sind, z.B. μαγειρική, μουσική, φυσική, γραμματική, d.h. τέχνη (Kaege S. 15). Diese Neologismen werden immer noch bis zu einem groben Grad als Adjektiva angenommen, vielmehr weil sie als solche funktionieren, z.B. η κυβερνητική als Wissenschaft-κυβερνητική πολιτική in der nominativen Wortverbindung als Attribut. Es handelt sich in diesen Fällen unbestreitbar um Entlehnung von Wörtern griechischer Herkunft und nicht um Substantivierung auf einheimischer Basis. Das kann man gewiß für neue Zweige der Wissenschaft bestätigen, derer Benennungen nach alter Tradition in den meisten Fällen durch griechische oder lateinische Stammwörter gebildet werden.

Diese Wörter "ταξιδεύρες" nach dem Terminus von Triantaphyllidis (1941:98) verändern sich oft auch semantisch auf fremdem Boden und kehren ins Neugriechische mit ihrer neuen Bedeutung zurück. In den Fällen, in denen phonetische Veränderungen beobachtet werden, funktionieren die Wörter unbestreitbar und werden von den Trägern der Sprache als Lehnwörter angenommen, z.B. το σινεμά (το κίνημα, ο κινηματογράφος, kino-Bulg.), η μουσική ντίσκο (disco-Bulg.). Allmählich gewinnt aber das griechische Wort z.B. η δισκοθήκη, das auf einheimischem Boden entstanden ist, eine neue abstrakte Bedeutung "eine Stelle zur Unterhaltung junger Leute" und wird parallel mit η ντισκοτέκ (diskoteka-Bulg.) gebraucht.

Am Ende möchten wir betonen, daß die Lehnwörter als Zeugen der aktiven Kontakte zwischen den Völkern und ihren Kulturen werden auch in Zukunft eine der besonders starken Tendenzen zur Entwicklung der Gegenwartssprachen bilden (unabhängig von den Befürchtungen ihrer Denationalisierung). Wir sind überzeugt, daß die Völker, die eine solche nationale Identität und jahrhundertelange Kulturtradition haben, wie das bulgarische und das griechische Volk, den nationalen Charakter ihrer Sprachen erhalten werden.

Abkürzungen

Amer. = Amerikanisch	K. = Καθημερινή
B. = Български	Lat. = Lateinisch
Bulg. = Bulgarisch	P. = Πελοποννήσιος
Gr. = Griechisch	Fr. = Französisch
Engl. = Englisch	

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UN ELEMENTO ASCITIZIO DI ALCUNE LINGUE SLAVE,
GERMANICHE E SEMITICHE DERIVATO DAL NOME DI UN
ANTICO NUMMO AUREO

E' noto che in tutte le lingue slave il concetto di 'denaro, moneta, soldi' viene reso con un omonimo, cf. ant. slavo eccl. *penedz6* 'denarius' (Zogr; Mar; Ass; Savv); slavo eccl. *peněz6* 'denarius, assarium, nummulus' (Mikl Lex; Srezn II:1784); bulg. dial. *penéz* 'moneta; moneta indossata come gioiello'; ant. serbo-croato *pjênez* (dial. *penez*, *pinez*) 'moneta', pl. *pjênezi* 'soldi, denaro'; ant. slov. *penez* 'Münze', *pênezi* 'Geld'; ant. ceco *pêniez* 'pecunia', *pěniežek* 'nummus' (Klaret) ceco mod. *peníz* 'Münze', *penize* 'Geld'; slovacco *peniaz* 'moneta', *peniaze* 'soldi'; pol. *pieniądz* 'ein Scherf, ein Pfennig', *pieniądze* 'Geld'; sorbico sup. *pjenjez* 'Münze', *pjenjezy* 'Geld'; sorbico inf. *peñez* 'Geldstück, Pfennig', *peneze* 'Geld'; ant. ucr. *plnjaz* ~ *pinjáz* 'monetina', *pinjaze* 'Geld'; ant. russo *pénjaz* 'moneta, spicciolo; denaro straniero' (Srezn II:1175). La forma ricostruita dell'ant. slavo è **pěnědz6* (ZVSZ, p. 310).

Molti studiosi concordano nel definire questo termine nelle lingue slave come un prestito dal germanico (cf. Kiparski 256, MEW 245, Stender-Petersen 384, MER 417, HKES 270, BSE 408, PES II:162), anzi Kiparsky afferma che il prestito è avvenuto direttamente dall'ahd. *penning* nell' VIII sec. d.C. L'origine della denominazione della moneta però non è stata chiarita neppure nelle lingue germaniche. La parola compare soltanto nelle lingue germaniche occidentali, cf. mhd. *pfenni[n]c*; ahd. *pfenning* ~ *pfenting*; dial. berlin. *fennig* (Hutterer, p. 351); neerl. *penning*; ingl. *penny*, e per questa ragione la derivazione dal tedesco è discutibile. Il Duden tenta di spiegare l'origine della parola ipotizzando un prestito dal lat. *pannus* 'panno, un pezzo di stoffa', in quanto il panno veniva utilizzato in antico come merce di baratto o di scambio. Questa spiegazione però non convince per ragioni di ordine semasiologico. Tenteremo perciò un approccio diverso per spiegare l'origine del termine in questione.

La moneta come tale nasce ad Est del Mediterraneo, e più precisamente in Asia Minore, nella seconda metà del VII sec. a.C. e si diffonde in Grecia e poi in Occidente solo nel corso del VI sec. a.C. Le più antiche emissioni

furono, dovunque, limitate a nominali di valore assai concentrato, in metallo prezioso (oro e argento) e di taglio alto. La primitiva moneta, in Asia Minore e poi in Grecia, aveva un aspetto esteriore quasi globulare o lenticolare. Essa era sostanzialmente un pezzo di metallo di consistente spessore sul quale veniva impressa mediante coniazione un'immagine, il cosiddetto *τύπος*, che costituiva il sigillo dell'autorità emittente. Sulla faccia opposta invece una o più punzonature quadrangolari (il cosiddetto 'quadrato incluso') avevano forse il solo scopo di tenere il tondello metallico aderente al conio di incudine (Stazio, p. 110-111).

A causa della sua relativa novità il denaro non aveva un nome particolare. E' da notare inoltre che il mondo greco all'inizio per la coniazione delle monete utilizzò, con poche eccezioni, pressochè esclusivamente l'argento. La monetazione in bronzo rimase a lungo sconosciuta nel mondo ellenistico.

La colonizzazione achea in grande stile che investì la costa meridionale dell'Italia ebbe luogo tra l'VIII e il VI sec. a.C. Fu in quel periodo che vennero fondate le città di Cuma, Napoli, Taranto, Sibari, Crotone, Siracusa, ecc. e proprio per questa ragione la regione venne denominata Magna Grecia (*Megale Hellas*). Fu proprio nella Magna Grecia che nacque e si sviluppò nella prima metà del VI sec. a.C. il primo nucleo della monetazione greca d'Occidente. Fra le prime ad adottare tale uso, qualunque sia stata la causa che ne determinò l'adozione — fu certamente Sibari. La moneta sibaritica appare sin dall'inizio largamente diffusa non soltanto in ambiente greco, ma anche nell'ambito indigeno, dove era accettata e apprezzata per l'ottimo titolo del metallo nobile (argento puro quasi al 1000 per 1000). Fra le città che coniarono moneta in quel periodo vi fu anche Metaponto, colonia achea la cui fondazione, secondo un'antica tradizione, fu promossa dalla stessa Sibari per contenere la pressione tarantina sul confine settentrionale del suo territorio. E' probabile che Taranto, Metaponto, Eraclea e Locri abbiano iniziato la coniazione di monete d'oro in notevoli quantità quando queste città dovettero sostenere notevoli sforzi bellici contro gli indigeni (tra i quali vanno inclusi anche i Romani). Le emissioni auree, specialmente a Taranto, assunsero, nella seconda metà del IV secolo a.C., abbondanza e frequenza veramente rilevanti.

E' possibile perciò che la moneta d'oro detta *χρυσούς στατήρ*, benchè basata sul sistema ponderale corinzio, debba il suo nome proprio al fatto di esser stata coniata nell'Italia meridionale, e ciò in virtù del fatto che le parlate greche coloniali fungevano probabilmente da tramite tra greco e latino. Il termine *στατήρ* deriva infatti dal lat. *stater*, *-eris*, nome col quale veniva in-

dicato il peso della cosiddetta 'bilancia a braccio' o 'stadera'. Presso i Romani la bilancia aveva il nome di *libra* 'bilancia' (ma anche: 'piombino, livella'), *lanx* '[bilancia ad un] piatto', *bilanx* '[bilancia a] due piatti', e *statera* 'stadera'. *Stater* era appunto il peso che veniva appeso al braccio della bilancia per bilanciare il peso della merce appesa al braccio o posta nel piatto della bilancia stessa. Lo *statere* ebbe il massimo corso principalmente tra il VI e il IV sec. a.C. e gli stateri d'oro fatti coniare da Creso, Filippo, Alessandro il Macedone avevano un peso tra gli 8.10 e gli 8.70 grammi di oro fino.

Anche il nome di altre monete ha origini simili. L'*obolo*, anch'esso in uso presso i Greci, e che corrispondeva a 1/6 di dracma o a 1/12 di statere, deve l'origine del suo nome a *ὀβολός*, versione attica del corrispondente greco *ὀβελός* di origine sconosciuta, il cui significato è quello di 'barretta di metallo utilizzata come unità di peso'. La *dracma* era già in uso presso i greci a partire dal VII sec. a.C. Si trattava di una moneta d'argento, il cui peso variò a seconda del periodo e del luogo di emissione. La *dracma* usata ad Atene valeva ad es. 6 oboli. Il nome trae la sua origine dal greco *δραχμή* 'unità di peso', che si rifà al verbo *δράσσομαι* 'prendere in mano, afferrare', e il suo significato originario è quindi quello di 'quantità che può essere presa in una mano' (cf. Frisk; Chantraine; Farkas). Presso i Romani la *libra*, -ae (che deriva, come il greco *λίτρα*, da una base di partenza **lithra* non necessariamente indoeuropea), aveva il significato originale di 'bilancia', ma corrispondeva ad una unità di peso ('libbra') pari a 12 once (presso i Greci 12 oboli); era altresì una quantità di metallo 'pesata' e, per estensione, anche una somma di denaro. Anche altri territori linguistici conoscevano questo tipo di denominazione. Citiamo ad esempio il *siclo* (ebr. *šekel*, gr. *σίκλος*, *σίγλος*), moneta di rame di origine fenicia del peso di circa 7.25 g, il cui valore corrispondeva all'incirca ad una didracma greca oppure a due *nummi* argentei romani. Il nome di *šekel* deriva dal verbo *שָׁקַל*/šql/ 'pesare, ponderare, pagare con denaro, esaminare, comparare', cf. anche il verbo *שָׁקַל*/šql/ 'equilibrare, bilanciare'. La parola ebraica può essere posta in relazione con le seguenti parole: ant. aram. *שָׁקַל*/šql/ 'pesare'; fenicio *שָׁקַל*/šql/ 'pesare', *מִשְׁקָל*/mšql/ 'peso'; aram. egiz. *תָּקַל*/thql/ 'pesare'; mandeo *תָּקַל*/thql/ 'pesare'; arabo *ṭhaqala* 'pesò, era pesante', *ṭhaql* 'peso, onere, soma'; etiop. *saqala* 'appeso, pesato'; accad. *šaḡālu* 'pesare'; *šuḡaluqu* 'appendere'; ugartico *ṭql* 'šekel' (Klein).

Da quanto sopra abbiamo visto che parecchi tipi di monete traggono il nome dal peso della stadera o bilancia. Perché aveva una tale importanza il peso? Forcellini ci fornisce l'illuminante risposta: "*Aere gravi quum uterentur Romanis penso eo, non numerato, debitum solvebant*" ['Quando era neces-

sario, i Romani pagavano i lor debiti non contando le monete di bronzo ma misurandone il peso'] (v. Forcellini alla voce *pendo*). Questa è dunque la soluzione: i nomi di queste monete nacquero per il fatto che se ne *misurava il peso*. Ciò non avvenne soltanto in antico. Ad esempio il ted. mod. *Mark* (< mhd. *marc* ~ *marke*) 'barra di argento o d'oro, del peso di mezza libbra', che deriva dal lat. *marcare*, 'fornire di una punzonatura indicante il peso'; oppure — come detto altrove nel presente lavoro — lo spagnolo *peso*, *peseta*, che deriva dal lat. *pensum*, la *lira* italiana e la *livre* francese che derivano dal nome della *libbra*, il tedesco *Pfund* e l'inglese *pound* dal lat. *pondo*, ecc.

Ci è ignoto dove che e quando gli Slavi abbiano appreso il concetto di 'moneta', sappiamo però quando sono entrati in contatto con l'Impero Romano d'Oriente. Sappiamo che la crisi economico-politica dell'Impero Romano d'Occidente si era estesa anche a Bisanzio, vale a dire anche alla parte orientale dell'impero. Nel 330 l'imperatore Costantino fondò Costantinopoli ("la nuova Roma") sullo stesso luogo ove anticamente sorgeva la città-colonia greca di Bisanzio, e — al fine di assicurarle una migliore stabilità finanziaria e politica — egli aveva iniziato già dal 325 d.C. a coniare monete d'oro del peso di 4.55 grammi che portavano il nome di *solidus* (< lat. *solidus* [*nummus*]). Secondo fonti dell'epoca, il *solido* era noto anche col nome di *pensa auri* (Györffy, pp. 339 e 342). Tutto diviene quindi chiaro: la parola greco-latina *pensa* indicava una moneta che era usata soprattutto nell'Impero Romano d'Oriente. Le tribù slave, in occasione della loro penetrazione e del loro insediamento nei Balcani all'incirca nel VII secolo d.C., avevano stabilito contatti duraturi con l'Impero d'Oriente quando Bisanzio, dopo lunghe lotte, era riuscita a riconquistare i Balcani. E' dunque possibile che le tribù slave abbiano conosciuto in quel periodo la moneta d'oro nota col nome di *pensa* riprendendone il nome per indicare la moneta per eccellenza e quindi il denaro in generale.

La parola è un derivato della radice latina *pend-*, ad elemento vocalico variabile. Questa radice fu molto produttiva, come i suoi derivati dimostrano: *pendo*, *pendeo*, *pendiculus*, *pendigo*, *pendix*, *pendulus*, *pensa*, *pensabilis*, *pensatio*, *pensator*, *pense*, *pensibilis*, *pensiculate*, *pensiculator*, *pensiculo*, *pensilis*, *pensim*, *pensio*, *pensitatio*, *pensitator*, *pensito*, *pensiuncula*, *penso*, *pensor*, *pensum*, *pensura*, *pondus*, nonché le parole con essa composte: *altipendulus*, *altipendus*, *appendeo*, *appendo*, *arvipendium*, *bipensilis*, *circumpendens*, *compendium*, *compendo*, *compenso*, *dependeo*, *dependo*, *dispendiosus*, *dispendium*, *dispendo*, *dispenso*, *impendeo*, *impendo*, *interpensiva*, *lanipendens*, *lanipendium*, *lanipendius*, *libripens*, *magnipendo*, *parvipendo*, *parvipensio*, *perpendo*, *rependo*, *subterpendens*, *superpendens*, *suppendeo*, *vilipendo*, ecc. Molte di

queste parole sono reperibili anche nell'italiano odierno. Il significato primario della radice era quello di 'pendere'. Sappiamo però che per *misurare*, *valutare* o *stimare* il *peso* di un oggetto, era necessario *appenderlo* ad una bilancia: tutti gli altri significati attribuibili a questa radice sono secondari e connessi al significato principale di 'pendere' mediante il concetto di 'pesare'. Si veda ad esempio:

— *penso*, -as, -avi, -atum, -are, dal significato di 'pesare, ponderare, esaminare; giudicare; stimare, apprezzare; paragonare, compensare, ricambiare; risarcire', ad es. "*pensare aurum*"; "*pensare consilium*"; "*ex factis, non ex dictis amicos pensare*"; "*pensare vulnus vulnere*", ecc. La parola continua nelle lingue romanze col significato di '*cogito, puto, censeo, sentio*': cfr. fr. *penser*, it. *pensare*, sp. *pensar*, ecc. e, in forma denasalizzata, nel significato di '*pendo, gravem sive ponderosum sum, pondero*', cfr. it. *pesare*, fr. *peser*, sp. *pesar*, ecc.

— *pendo* [rar. *pendō*], -es, *pēpendi*, *pensum*, *pendēre*: '*proprie est suspensus sum*' (v. Forcellini), per es. "*pendere ex arbore*"; "*pendere ex collo*"; "*nubila pendent*", ecc.

— *pendō*, -es, *pēpendi*, *pensum*, *pendēre*. Già in precedenza abbiamo visto che gli antichi Romani pesavano le merci appendendola ai ganci delle loro stadere. Da questo fatto deriva il significato citato dal Forcellini: '*proprie est pondero, pondus ad trutinam exploro; sed hoc sensu rarissime usurpatum reperitur*', come pure gli altri significati a questo connessi: 'pendere giù, penzolare; essere sospeso, essere attaccato, essere appeso; ricader giù; essere sospeso sopra; star sospeso nell'aria; restar attaccato, trattenersi; pendere dalla bocca di uno, essere attento; restar pendente, restar sospeso; dipendere, derivare; essere dubbioso, incerto; essere in ansia', cf.: "*res spectatur, non verba penduntur*"; "*pendere causam ex veritate*"; "*aliquid parvi pendere*"; "*stipendium quotannis pendere*"; "*pendere minus pondo LXXX*"; "*drachma sex obolos pondere officit: obulus decem chalcos: cyatus pendet drachmas decem*", ecc. I verbi *pendo* e *pendō* hanno in comune sia il preterito che il supino.

Dal grado forte della radice deriva la parola *pondus* che ha il significato di 'peso, peso d'una libbra, libbra; gravità, equilibrio, contrappeso; massa, corpo pesante; gran quantità, grande somma; importanza, rilievo, impressione, efficacia; peso, carico, soma': "*magni ponderis saxa*"; "*in terram feruntur omnia pondera*"; "*pondera verborum*", ecc. La parola continua col significato di 'peso' nelle lingue romanze, cf. fr. *poids* (più propriamente il fr. *poids* deriva da *pensum*, poichè si rifà ad un ant. *peis*, *pois*, ma riceve la sua *d* dalla connessione impropria con *pondus*, cf. Zamboni p. 131), it. *pondo*; rum. *pondere*, ecc. La parola è presente come elemento ascitizio anche in altre

lingue, cfr. ted. letterario *Pfund*, mhd. *phunt*, *pfunt*, ahd. *phunt*, got. *pund*, sassone *fōnt*, *tfōnt*, neerl. *pond*, ingl. *pound*, sved. *pund* e l'ungh. *font*, derivato dal tedesco; si veda altresì il russo *pud* '40 libbre russe' derivato direttamente dal latino, ecc.

Dal grado apofonico debole della radice deriva invece la parola *pensum* dal significato di 'penso, pennecchio, lavoro giornaliero; peso di lana dato a filare (delle schiave nel filar la lana, perchè questa veniva loro pesata)'. A causa di questa connessione col lavoro servile, la parola nel latino medievale e scolastico ha preso anche il significato di 'tema, compito, lavoro scolastico assegnato come punizione', cf. it. *penso*, ted. *Pensum*, ingl. *pensum*, ecc. La parola esiste in forma denasalizzata nelle lingue romanze col significato di *pondus*, cf. it., *sp.*, port. *peso*. Sia in spagnolo che in portoghese questa parola è stata utilizzata per indicare un tipo di moneta (il *peso*, appunto), anzi la moneta usata attualmente in Spagna è appunto la *peseta*, dim. di *peso*.

Il significato di 'pesare' e di 'contare (denaro)' era talmente interconnesso in latino, che in rumeno il concetto di 'pesare' viene espresso col verbo *a cântari* < lat. *compūto*, -are.

Infine esaminiamo la parola che più ci interessa al fine di spiegare l'etimologia oggetto del presente lavoro, vale a dire il sost. *pensă*, -ae (f.), il cui significato, riportato dal Forcellini, è quello di '*demensum diurnum, sive annonae statuta pro victu quotidiano; res pensa, aestimata*'. Non v'è traccia alcuna che questo termine sia stato usato in antico per indicare un determinato tipo di moneta, ma la parola compare nelle fonti tarde dell'Impero d'Oriente per indicare il "solidus" d'oro (cf. Györffy, pp. 339 e 342), e il suo significato originario — in connessione con la moneta — poteva quindi essere soltanto quello di 'quantità [d'oro] pesata'.

Anche lo sviluppo semantico sembra indicare che questa è la soluzione. E' infatti abbastanza comune che una parola che indica un certo rango venga gradualmente banalizzata fino ad indicare un rango molto più basso. Questo ad esempio è il caso del prestito ungherese *asszony* che nella lingua originale; l'alano, aveva il significato di 'regina, principessa' e che in ungherese col passar del tempo ha assunto via via il significato di 'signora di alto lignaggio' → 'nobildonna' → parola deferente *sui generis* per indicare 'donna, signora' (Bárczi, p. 48). La stessa cosa è successa alla parola di origine greca *obolo* che originariamente corrispondeva al valore di 1/12 di statere o a 1/6 di dracma ma che è poi passata già in epoca romana ad indicare la moneta spicciola. Anche il nome di *pensa* è andato soggetto ad un processo di banalizzazione: dal significato originario di 'moneta d'oro' si è passati a quello di 'moneta tout court'. In alcune lingue slave (polacco, sorbico, ucraino, russo) e soprat-

tutto nelle lingue germaniche ha quindi subito una ulteriore banalizzazione, passando ad indicare le monete di minor valore: cf. ted. *Pfenning*, ingl. *penny*, ecc.

Lo sviluppo di *pensa* è ricostruibile con un certo grado di affidabilità. Sappiamo che il mutamento condizionato di -s- in ambito latino, che per effetto dell'ambito vocalico si sonorizzò per assimilazione passando a [z] come variante contestuale, ebbe luogo non più tardi del V-IV sec. a.C. La parola, quando venne mutuata nelle lingue slave andò soggetta ad un fenomeno di apocope che causò la caduta della -a finale. Ciò ebbe come conseguenza un accavallamento consonantico, il che rese necessario l'inserimento di una vocale eufonica, nasalizzata per effetto della nasale -n- che la precedeva. La parola *pensa* è stata perciò mutuata dagli Slavi come **pěnědzь*, e ciò spiega la sua presenza in tutte le lingue slave. I Germani del gruppo occidentale hanno poi ripreso questa parola dagli Slavi, e ciò potrebbe fornirci una spiegazione del perchè della presenza delle due consonanti nasali in queste lingue, cf. ahd. *pfenning* ~ *pfenting*, mhd. *pfenni[n]*, neerl. (*penning*). Anche l'ungherese *pénz* (ungh. dial. *penez*, *piniz*, *péz*, *píz*, *penyáz*, *pěnyász*) è un prestito dallo slavo (TESz. III:156).

Con ciò la storia della parola *pensa* non è conclusa, possiamo anzi arrischiare una ipotesi circa il periodo storico in cui questa parola ha iniziato a diffondersi. Questa possibilità ci è fornita dalla presenza nelle lingue semitiche di un termine simile, si veda l'aramaico 𐤏𐤕𐤍𐤏/*piza*/ 'oro fino, oro puro', 𐤏𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤍/*pizuza*/ 'di oro'; ebr. bibl. 𐤏𐤕𐤍/*paz*/ 'oro fino, oro puro', 𐤏𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤍/*pzz*/ [verbo denominale] 'dorare; purificare'. Secondo gli studiosi il termine aramaico e quello ebraico sono elementi allotri (v. Klein, alla voce 𐤏𐤕𐤍).

In precedenza abbiamo menzionato il fatto che i Greci normalmente non utilizzavano l'oro per la coniazione delle loro monete, dato che il metallo che essi preferivano a tale scopo era l'argento, tanto che la parola greca *ἀργύριον* aveva il significato di 'denaro' (come nel mondo moderno *argent* per i Francesi). Essi ricorrevano all'oro solo quando vi erano costretti dalle circostanze, e l'uso di monete coniate con oro o con quella particolare lega di oro e argento detta *ἤλεκτρον* era stato abbastanza circoscritto e limitato a poche emissioni in Asia Minore, nel regno di Lidia e più tardi anche nell'Impero Persiano. L'uso della monetazione in bronzo appartiene ad un'epoca successiva (V sec. a.C.) e nasce verosimilmente in Occidente, in Sicilia e in Magna Grecia, grazie ai contatti con gli ambienti indigeni, da lungo tempo avvezzi a considerare il bronzo — oltre che un metallo di uso comune — anche un mezzo di accumulo di ricchezza e quindi un efficace strumento di scambio. Per quanto riguarda l'oro invece, le zecche iniziarono ad usare questo metallo

prezioso in grandi quantità quando Filippo II di Macedonia (nato ~ 382 a.C., morto ad Ege nel 336 a.C.), dopo aver sottomesso la parte settentrionale della penisola balcanica aveva iniziato lo sfruttamento in grande stile delle miniere del monte Pangaion. Secondo una relazione di Plinio le miniere d'oro e d'argento del monte Pangaion erano state scoperte dal fenicio Kadmos, e la loro ricchezza venne descritta anche da Erodoto, Teofrasto e Strabone (Coltart, p. 47-55). Diodoro ci dà una relazione degli avvenimenti di quell'epoca: *"Dopo di ciò egli [Filippo] andò nella città di Crenide e dopo averne accresciute le dimensioni con un largo numero di abitanti, ne cambiò il nome in Filippi, danboile il suo nome. Quindi rivolse la sua attenzione alle miniere d'oro site in quel territorio, che erano scarse e insignificanti, egli ne incrementò la produzione grazie ai suoi miglioramenti, tanto che queste gli dettero una rendita di più di mille talenti. E dato che da queste miniere egli ben presto ammassò una fortuna, grazie all'abbondanza di denaro egli innalzò il regno macédone ad una posizione superiore poichè colle monete d'oro che egli aveva coniato, e che erano state battezzate Filippeioi dal suo nome, egli organizzò un grande numero di mercenari e utilizzando queste monete come dono egli corruppe molti Greci e li indusse a divenire traditori dei loro paesi natali"*. (Diodoro 16. 8. 5-6, citato da Le Rider, pag. 49).

Filippo voleva unificare la Macedonia e la Grecia allo scopo di poter combattere con più possibilità di successo contro lo strapotere dell'Impero Persiano e a questo scopo aveva messo in circolazione una gigantesca quantità di monete d'oro che, per la loro enorme abbondanza e il conseguente prestigio, erano divenute ben presto modello e punto di riferimento per tutte le monete contemporanee: la moneta d'oro di peso attico, infatti, aveva ormai assunto un carattere internazionale, circolava liberamente su tutti i mercati e veniva adottata nelle varie città ogni qualvolta circostanze o stimoli esterni ne determinavano la necessità (Stazio).

E' dunque probabile che il termine *pensa* sia stato ripreso in ambito semitico in quest'epoca. Da un punto di vista semantico, non vi sono difficoltà, dato che presso i Greci si tratta di una moneta d'oro, mentre per i Semiti si tratta comunque di 'oro fino'. Anche il fattore temporale può confermare la mutazione del termine in semitico, dato che questa avviene sia nell'aramaico classico che in ebraico biblico. L'aramaico classico o di impero (così detto perchè utilizzato nell'impero assiro-babilonese e nell'impero persiano come *lingua franca* è quello che si sviluppa tra il VII e il IV sec. a.C., mentre l'aramaico biblico venne impiegato tra il IV ed il II sec. a.C. Sappiamo che la maggior parte dei libri componenti la Bibbia sono stati scritti nella loro forma attuale tra la metà del IX sec. sino al IV sec. a.C. C'è inoltre da tener

presente che la mutazione come aram. ܡܝܙܐ /piza/ ed ebr. פַּז /paz/ può essere avvenuta soltanto in epoca scioire al fenomeno del mutamento fonetico latino| [s] > [z], vale a dire dopo il V sec. a.C. Inoltre la forma *pensa* può facilmente essere andata soggetta ad una denasalizzazione in ambito semitico (come è avvenuto più tardi anche in ambito romanzo per i continuatori del tipo latino). E' dunque possibile che le parole semitiche citate in precedenza siano prestiti dal latino, e ciò farebbe arretrare la datazione dell'uso di *pensa* per indicare una moneta d'oro a molto tempo prima della sua registrazione scritta (citata da Györffy).

Con ciò potremmo concludere ma, come la storia mostra, i nomi delle monete non scompaiono mai del tutto. Si pensi ad es. alla moneta greca detta *φόλλις*, il cui nome venne ripreso poi da Goti, Normanni e in epoca medievale da molte città marinare dell'Italia meridionale sotto forma di *fòllaro* (*fòlaro*); oppure al *denarius* e al *solidus*, di latina memoria, che vennero riutilizzati in ambito italiano a più riprese (*denaro* e *soldo*), e uno dei quali costituisce oggi la moneta della Jugoslavia (*dinar*); oppure all'antichissima *dracma* che rivive nella Grecia odierna, al *fiorino* di Firenze che ha dato il nome al *forint* ungherese, al latino *pensum* che ha dato il nome al *peso* e alla *peseta* spagnoli; oppure alla *libra* che ha dato il nome alla *lira* italiana (attraverso una forma settentrionale **libira* con vocale epentica e susseguente lenizione totale della consonante, > **li(v)ira* > *lira*), fr. *livre*, ecc.

Forse è una versione denasalizzata di *pensum* o *pensa* quella che comparve nel XV sec. a Berna col nome di *Batzen* (~ dial. *Patzen*) (m.) 'moneta svizzera'. A poca distanza anche Salzburg seguì l'esempio di Berna, coniando una moneta con lo stesso nome. Nel tedesco odierno esistono tuttora frasi del tipo "*Ein schöner Batzen Geld*" 'un bel mucchio di soldi'; "*Die Kuh gilt einen Batzen*" 'la vacca non vale un soldo'; "*Das kostet einen ganzen Batzen*" 'costa un mucchio di soldi', ecc. Una paraetimologia attribuì il nome di questa moneta al fatto che su una delle sue facce v'era l'effigie di un orso, simbolo della città di Borna, che in tedesco dial. suona '*Betz ~ Bätz*' (Kniezsa, I:85). Anche la repubblica di Venezia decise nel 1497 di coniare monete del valore di sei denari (ovvero mezzo soldo), che sembra avessero il compito di "scacciare" le emissioni rivali, e dette a queste monete il nome di *bezzo*. Anche in veneto sopravvivono modi di dire connessi a questa moneta, come ad es. "*No g'ò bezzi*", "*Val più i bezzi che la virtù*", ecc. La denominazione venne ripresa in più lingue, cf. serbocroato ant. *běč*, sloveno ant. *běč*, ungh. ant. *bécs* (TESz. I:265), ecc.

Gli studiosi tedeschi hanno supposto che *Batzen* derivi dal mhd. *batze* 'Klumpen; ammasso, mucchio, massa' (< ant. ted. *batzen* 'klebrig, weich sein,

zusammenkleben; essere molle, soffice; appiccicarsi, incollarsi' e che debba essere posto in rapporto con il verbo *backen* attraverso una ipotetica forma **back[e]zen* 'incollare'. Aggiungono inoltre che il sostantivo *Batzen* probabilmente è apparentato col mhd. *batzig* dal significato di 'presuntuoso, borioso, sfacciato, arrogante' e col ted. dial. mod. *patzig* dal significato di 'spudorato; poco affabile, poco amichevole, inospitale, arcigno, sgarbato, rozzo, villano' (Duden, alle voci *Batzen* e *patzig*). L'etimologia proposta lascia a desiderare perché, come gli esperti finanziari ben sanno, esiste un fenomeno assai noto nella circolazione monetaria che fa sì che le persone tendano a sharazzarsi al più presto delle monete nei confronti delle quali non provano fiducia, a meno che non si voglia ricorrere alla circolazione monetaria cosiddetta "forzosa". E' evidente che un nome ridicolo come sarebbe quello di 'attaccaticcio, appiccaticcio' non avrebbe ispirato fiducia ed è quanto meno opinabile che le autorità svizzere dell'epoca intendessero utilizzare un nome ridicolo per la loro moneta di nuovo conio.

Così come è nota la parentela del ted. *Groschen* col lat. (*dēnārius*) *grossus* e quella del ted. *Sold* con il lat. *solidus*, sarebbe forse opportuno esaminare più a fondo le possibili parentele di *Batzen* ~ *Patzen* col lat. *pensum* ~ *pensa*. Ci sono degli indizi che sembrano indicare in questa direzione, come ad es. gli inspiegati termini dialettali ungheresi *penca* e *pés* (MTSz). Non sappiamo se esista effettivamente una qualche relazione tra *Batzen*, *bezzo* e *pensa*, ma crediamo che questo tema meriterebbe un opportuno approfondimento.

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Fig. 1: Moneta aurea fatta coniare da Filippo II di Macedonia.



Fig. 2 "Solidus" bizantino del IV sec. d.C.

EVANTHIS HATZIVASSILIOU

THE SUEZ CRISIS, CYPRUS AND GREEK FOREIGN POLICY, 1956.
A VIEW FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES

In the year 1956, the basic principles of modern Greek foreign policy were laid down. There had been enough time since the end of the civil war for a reform of policy to be seriously considered. Simultaneously, the emergence in the governmental quarters of a new generation of persons facilitated the process: Constantinos Karamanlis, Constantinos Tsatsos, Evangelos Averoff-Tossitsas, Gheorghios Rallis and Panayiotis Papaligouras were new figures. On the other hand, the course the Cyprus dispute was taking, made such a re-examination of policy a very pressing need. The Karamanlis government had been in power from October 1955, but only after ERE's electoral victory, in February 1956, did it feel strong enough to proceed to what amounted to no less than the shaping of a new look in the country's external relations. The picture of a reform in foreign policy is clearly displayed by the comparison of the diplomatic activities of the country in 1955 and in 1956: In 1955, Greece's diplomatic activity was confined in the framework of the Greek-American relations, of the Tripartite Alliance between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia, of NATO and, of course, of the Cyprus issue. The contacts with Eastern Europe (initiated in 1953-54) concerned mainly commercial relations, did not expand to the political level and had been stagnated. A list of the 1956 contacts gives quite a different picture. Apart from the 1955 ones, there were additional fields of activities: In March, the Minister without Portofolio, Grigorios Kassimatis, visited Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. In May, President Heuss of West Germany visited Athens, a cultural convention with West Germany was signed and there were Greek-Yugoslavian (bilateral, one must note) military talks, while a Greek military mission visited Yugoslavia in the following month. In June, too, Paul and Frederica, the King and the Queen of the Hellenes, visited Paris. In July, Tito visited Greece and had talks with Karamanlis. Greece tried to put relations with Yugoslavia in a bilateral basis, abandoning the tripartite framework of the previous years. Belgrade, though, was reluctant to follow in this. In August, Greece refused to attend the Suez Conference. In the same month, Greece and Romania signed an agreement to resume diplomatic relations and another one concerning compensation

for the damage done to Greek interests during the 1940's. In summer, also, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Dmitri Shepilov, visited Athens. In September, the Greco-Egyptian cultural convention was signed. At the same time, Paul and Frederica visited Bonn while the trade agreement between the two countries was renewed in October. In October, too, another Yugoslavian military delegation visited Athens. Karamanlis and the Foreign Minister, Averoff, paid an official visit to Belgrade in December. Thus, almost all the aspects of modern Greek foreign policy are found in the diplomatic efforts of 1956: NATO membership, openings to Western Europe (which would later turn to integration in Western Europe), openings to the Arab world, and a stepping up of the pace in the restoration of relations with countries of Eastern Europe as well as the careful beginning in the extension of such relations to the political field. Unlike the case of 1974, when Greece took the initiative in all fields, in 1956 the Greek government was confined to take the initiative for some of these moves and to exploit opportunities in respect to others. Thus, the opening to the Arabs was initiated by Athens. Greece benefited from the results of a successful visit by King Paul to Yugoslavia, in September 1955, while she provided the political will to respond to Romanian approaches. Where objective reasons made an opening premature, as in the case of Bulgaria (the negotiations concerning reparations had reached a stalemate), Greece refrained from any action¹.

The reason that this diplomatic reform passed greatly unnoticed was the deteriorating state of the Cyprus dispute: Only two weeks after the February election, the British deported Archbishop Makarios. Together with these moves in the field of foreign policy, thus, Greece found herself engaged in a major effort to resume negotiations with the British and to find a solution for Cyprus, safeguarding Greece's and the Greek Cypriots's interests. Simultaneously, she had to deal with the effect of the Suez crisis of that same year. The relationship, indeed interaction, of the two issues, of Cyprus and of Suez, in the critical year 1956 and the simultaneous reform of the Greek foreign policy, mainly the openings to the Arabs, is the subject of this paper.

I. CYPRUS, SUEZ AND BRITISH POLICY

The strategic value of the Suez Canal in keeping the communications of the Empire intact does not need to be stressed here. The point, however,

1. Peake to Selwyn Lloyd 23 March 1956 PRO FO 371/123844/1, Peake to Selwyn Lloyd 7 March 1957 FO 371/130012/1.

was that after India became independent, in 1947, Britain attached an even greater importance to the Middle East than before. This region was the only important area of the world, left under exclusive British responsibility. Since the strategic responsibility for such a region was a prerequisite for the status of a world power, which Britain was anxious to retain, the Middle East had acquired an overwhelming gravity. Such gravity, indeed, that in the late 1940's, the British Chiefs of Staff (COS) pressed the Labour government to place more emphasis to the Middle Eastern than to the European defence. It must be noted that Britain's political leadership, the Prime Minister Clement Attlee among them, was receptive to such thinking. London had some outposts in the region: Aden, the Suez Base, Iraq and Jordan were the ones based on treaties. Cyprus, under British sovereignty, was the other. These were areas whose control was not expendable for London, almost at any cost. Needless to say, loss of the one outpost was only making the others vital, not only for strategic reasons, but for the very maintenance of Britain in the Concert of the world powers².

The power of London in the region, however, was in the decline all the way since 1948, the year of the evacuation of Palestine. Other reasons, running very deep in the history of the region, such as Arab distrust of Britain because of the Arab-Israeli confrontation, played their part. The first sign of strain in the Anglo-Egyptian relations was the dispute over Sudan, in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The Iranian oil crisis of 1951-1953 was overcome, but even there the USA had managed to help their own economic interests to take over a proportion of the country's oil production, at the expense of British interests. One has to keep in mind that the US and Britain were not in agreement in all aspects of policy in respect to the Middle East, their attitudes often becoming antagonistic to one another. Very often, indeed, the British were viewing the American policy as an attempt to deprive London of its influence³.

2. Louis William Roger, *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1946-1961. Arab Nationalism, the United States and Postwar Imperialism*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1984, Chapters I, II and III, especially pp. 205-225, dealing with Cyprus.

3. Louis William Roger, "American anti-Colonialism and the Dissolution of the British Empire", *International Affairs*, 61 (1985) pp. 395-420; Nachmani A., "'It is a Matter of Getting the Mixture Right': Britain's Post-War Relations with America in the Middle East", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 18 (1983), pp. 117-137, for the extensive coverage of the perceptions of British and American policy-makers, in connection with Anglo-American relations, see Watt Donald Cameron, *Succeeding John Bull. America in Britain's place, 1900-1975*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1984, pp. 111-143, for the Sudan and the Iran affairs, see Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East*, pp. 632-736.

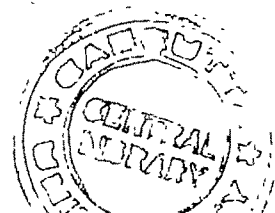
Placing so much importance to Cyprus, thus, was not so much the result of economic considerations (oil), but of political-strategic ones: To maintain the prestige of a superpower. It is no coincidence that every intention in London to consider giving even an implicit recognition of the right of self-determination of the Cypriots, or a promise to Greece that Britain would discuss its future status at a later date, was blocked by the Chiefs of Staff (COS). In the late 1940's, the Foreign Office considered the implementation of such a policy and the military came forward against it. In spring 1955, the Colonial Office was in favour of bringing self-determination into the picture, but, again, it was the COS who brushed it aside. The fact that a military body of policy, not, say, an economic one, was the champion of British sovereignty, shows that it were the strategic, not the economic, considerations that were seen as more pressing. Nor is it a coincidence that the COS abandoned their inflexibility and agreed to consider that a change of status was possible in the foreseeable future, only when the former Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Sir John Harding, was the Governor of the island and, in spring 1956, pressed hard for a self-determination plan to be pursued. On the other hand and as far as Cyprus's strategic importance is concerned, a few other points need to be mentioned: The island was useless as a Base for a strategic reserve, since it had no deep-water ports. Indeed, for the invasion of Egypt, in autumn 1956, the British troops were transported from Malta. However, Cyprus was an excellent Base for the air force, both for operations in the Middle East as for raids against the Soviet Union. The Colonial Office was considering the building of a deep-water port, which was not ready at the time of the Suez crisis⁴.

If the strategic considerations were an important factor in British attitudes to Cyprus, the political ones played an equally significant part. London, seeing its power in the region declining, found a reliable ally in the most stable (if not the only stable) country of the Middle East: Turkey. Ankara, in February 1955, played a major role in the making of the Baghdad Pact, one of the most important British assets in the region. In July, Pakistan and in September, Iran acceded to the initial bilateral Turkish-Iraqi Treaty. Britain had joined on April 4, only three days after the beginning of EOKA's action in Cyprus, and, in this sense, EOKA's emergence was badly timed. The Pact, in the end, proved to be a failure: It aroused Egyptian and Syrian suspicion and was never joined by another Arab country apart from Iraq, nor did it secure American

4. Extract from COS (55) 48 3 May 1955 FO 371/117634/385, extract from COS (56) 56 5 June 1956 FO 371/123894/1116, CO 223 and 224.

support. However, in 1955-56, London regarded it as an important vehicle for the maintenance of the British influence in the region. In turn, Turkey became the Pact's cornerstone. Consequently, Ankara's friendship became indispensable for Britain, exactly at a time when the Greek Cypriot struggle took its dynamic turn. Thus, the insistence of Athens that Britain would receive a Base in Cyprus and one in Greece was not considered seriously in London: Even if Britain considered that a Base in Cyprus would have covered her strategic needs, (which anyway she did not), such a settlement would not cover her political ones, as London needed a Middle Eastern ally, a role Greece could not play. References to Turkey's role in British thinking for Cyprus were continuous. For example, on May 5 1956, the Deputy Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, John Guthrie Ward, noted that "on long a view, I think that the "Turkish political" factor may become much more important than H[er] M[ajesty's] G[overnment]'s material need for a base in Cyprus. As Turkish friendship really is essential to retaining any position in the Middle East, we can hardly throw it away just to be quit of our troubles in Cyprus. And as Kirkpatrick [the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office] always points out, the quickest way of killing NATO (...) is to get out of Cyprus and start a Greco-Turkish war". London had noted the Turkish concern about Cyprus. Thus, in their June 1956 decision, in which they reluctantly agreed to examine the possibilities of a future British withdrawal from Cyprus, the COS insisted in the absolute importance of "carrying Turkey with us in any change which may be contemplated and so secure that her adherence to the Baghdad Pact is not affected". After this, London prepared a scheme, whereby the Cypriots would be allowed to exercise the right of self-determination after 10 years. The British, though, following the advice of the COS, included in this a build-in Turkish veto: The plebiscite would not take place prior to a British-Greek-Turkish Treaty on Cyprus's defence. The plebiscite, therefore, would be dependent on Turkey's agreement. London put this proposal to Ankara (not to Athens), and dropped the plan, after the strong Turkish opposition to it. Ankara's importance was rated high in London in the year of the Suez crisis⁵.

5. For the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact and Turkey's role in it, see Reid Brian Holden, "The "Nothern Tier" and the Baghdad Pact", in Young John W. (ed.), *The Foreign Policy of Churchill's Peacetime Administration, 1951-1956*, Leicester University Press, 1988, pp. 159-179. FO minute (Young) 6 June 1956 FO 371/123894/1112, PRO CAB 128/29 41st Conclusions 12 June 1956, Bowker (Ankara) to FO 22 June 1956 FO 371/123901/1425, extract from COS (56) 56 5 June 1956 FO 371/123894/1116.



It was in such difficult, for Britain, circumstances, that the Canal crisis occurred: The British had a base in the Canal area, according to the 1936 agreement with Egypt. In 1936, British presence was a counter-balance for the Italian expansion to Eastern Africa, but the Italian defeat in the war removed the cause of Egyptian anxieties and left the way open for the Egyptian nationalism to develop. The duration of the relevant Treaty was 20 years. Thus, it would have to be renewed before 1956. The overthrow of King Faruq, in 1952, by the nationalists, led by Colonel Neguib, made clear that the most Britain could hope was to limit the damages. This, the Churchill government achieved in 1954, when Sir Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary, concluded with Colonel Nasser, who had replaced Neguib, a Treaty, whereby Britain would withdraw from the Canal by 1956, but for a period of seven years she would have the right to re-activate the Base, in case of an attack against certain Arab states or Turkey. The agreement, though, had an unfortunate reception in Britain, where some Conservative Deputies attacked the government, for selling the Base out. These rebels became known as the "Suez group"⁶.

When referring to the "Suez rebels", it is essential to have in mind that the famous "never" position was declared on the very day of the announcement of the start of the Suez negotiations, on 28 July 1954. The Minister of State for the Colonies, Henry Hopkinson, replying to a question about Cyprus, in the House of Commons, stressed that "it has always been understood and agreed that there are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent". The interaction between the two regions, Cyprus and Suez, becomes even more obvious when having in mind the timing of this statement. As stressed in the beginning, loss of the one position, Suez, only made the other indispensable (It is essential to note that in late 1952, Britain decided to move her Middle Eastern Headquarters to Cyprus, in the case of a withdrawal from Egypt). At the same time, the fact that Britain had been forced out of Suez, created a further implication for the Greek Cypriot cause: London would no longer be willing to base its Middle Eastern position on leased Bases, which depended on the good relations with the host country. More so, if the host country was seen as politically unstable—and Greece, having had a fierce civil war only five years before, was seen as such⁷.

6. Ovendale Ritchie, "Egypt and the Suez Base Agreement", in Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-155.

7. *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 531 [504-514] 28 July 1954, FO minute (Thomson) 11 Apr. 1956 FO 371/123882/725.

The troubles for Britain, still, did not end with the conclusion of the agreement. Nasser tried to proceed with his plans for the building of the Aswan Dam, hoping that it would help his country's economic development. The USA, Britain and the International Monetary Fund were to provide much of the finance needed. When Nasser, however, purchased arms from Czechoslovakia, the loans were withdrawn. The Egyptian leader, then, in July 1956, nationalised the Suez Canal, in order to use its benefits to build the Dam. Nasser did not say that he would violate International Law, which imposed that the Canal should be open to navigation. Yet, Britain, already facing strains in the region (General Glubb's dismissal, in March, which resulted to the loss of Jordan for the British and the breakdown of the Makarios-Harding negotiations on Cyprus being the latest ones), chose to interpret this as hostile action. Especially Eden, now Prime Minister, was extremely angry at Nasser's attitude. France did the same (Paris believed that Nasser helped the rebellion against the French in Algeria). The USA, however, was anxious to prevent the use of force. In the American attitude, traditional dislike of Colonialism and the fact that 1956 was a year of Presidential elections, played a great role. The Western powers withdrew their pilots from the Canal (without them, the Canal would be closed and Nasser's action would have resulted to the violation of the Suez Convention of 1888, which imposed that the Canal should be open to navigation). A Conference was called at London, in August, to consider the issue. Greece, a country with a strong merchant fleet, was invited as well⁸.

II. GREECE'S CYPRUS POLICY, SUMMER 1956

In summer 1956, the Greek government was engaged in an effort to resume negotiations on Cyprus with the British on a bilateral basis (leaving Ankara out of the talks). In March, the British had deported Archbishop Makarios to the Seychelles. An effort by the Greek Foreign Minister, Spyros Theotokis, to free the Ethnarch had failed. Theotokis had asked the US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, to persuade London to resume negotiations with Makarios and, in May, had spoken to the British Foreign Secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, on these lines. He was not successful and he was replaced after the insistence of the Greek Cypriots that he was not resolute enough in his determination to pursue their case. The accusations against

8. Lamb Richard, *The Failure of the Eden Government*, Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1987, pp. 183-197.

Theotokis were repeated by the Opposition. The Greek Parliament debated on this issue twice, in spring, and there even was a motion of no confidence against the government. Karamanlis, initially, refused to replace the Foreign Minister, but later gave in to the pressure and accepted his resignation, on the grounds that his co-operation with the Ethnarchy was no longer possible. It is certain, now, that the Foreign Minister was indeed replaced because of the bad state of the relations between him and the Ethnarchy. Yet, for the British, it did not appear like this then. It seemed as if the government could not resist the Ethnarchy's interference in the formulation of foreign policy and this was an unfortunate impression. The new Foreign Minister, Evangelos Averoff-Tossitsas, tried, in early June, to sound the British, by expressing the Greek anxiety to reach a temporary settlement: It would be enough to define the mechanism for the application of self-determination for Cyprus, without setting any time-limit for this application. Averoff spoke on these lines to "Le Monde", to "Corriere della Sera" and to the British Councillor in Paris, Patrick Reilly. At the same time, the Greeks were trying to find ways to deal with the Turkish factor, which had been greatly reinforced both by the deportation and by the British difficulties in the region. The Greek idea was to prove to the British that Enosis was not incompatible to Turkish interests, which Athens would not neglect. (Anyway, Greece was not in a position to neglect these interests. If she did so, the British would not agree to Enosis) Greece, though, would negotiate on a bilateral basis, with Britain only-not with Turkey. Athens was also concerned about the fate of another part of Hellenism, the Christian minority in Istanbul and the position of the Oecumenical Patriarchate. In September 1955, riots, organised by the Turkish government, had taken place against the Greek community in Turkey and, since then, the Turks were hinting that if Ankara felt that Cyprus would become Greek, the fate of the minority would be quite unfortunate⁹.

The Greek government considered how the British anxiety about the Turkish factor would be overcome, on June 12, at a meeting which was recorded by the Head of the Cyprus Directory of the Foreign Ministry, Gheorgios Seferiades, in his diary. Karamanlis, Averoff, Constantinos Tsatsos (the Minister for the Prime Minister), Seferiades and the Permanent Under-

9. FO minute (Shuckburgh) 4 May 1956 FO 371/123887/889, Record (Selwyn Lloyd-Theotokis) 6 May 1956 FO 371/123887/868. FO minute (Ward) 2 Feb. 1956 FO 371/123868/178, Averoff-Tossitsas Evangelos, *Istoria Khamenon Efkarion, Kypriako 1950-1963* (History of Lost Opportunities, The Cyprus Question 1950-1963), volume I, Hestia, Athens 1982, pp. 122-125.

Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, Pericles Skeferis, were present. Then, the Greek plan was put to London through the Labour MP, Philip Noel Baker. Karamanlis told Noel Baker that Britain had broken the Makarios-Harding negotiations off before he even had the chance to form his government. After that, he could not risk another British "no", so he would prefer to take no initiative. Yet, the Greek Prime Minister continued, he was anxious to reach a settlement safeguarding Greek, Cypriot, British and Turkish interests. He had fought the February election on loyalty to the Alliance, but if Greece were to remain in NATO, a speedy settlement of the dispute was needed. He would prefer an agreement to be negotiated "by 2-3 people, without the bureaucracies brought in". He would not even need to consult Makarios, as the Archbishop would agree to anything the Greek government agreed. Noel Baker, when submitting these points to Eden, added that Karamanlis was prepared to hold elections if disagreements with the Opposition occurred and that he was confident that he would win a great majority. Karamanlis, Noel Baker continued, was anxious to concentrate to his government's real task, that of raising the standard of living in his country. The Labour MP noted to Eden that Greek Foreign Ministry officials had told him that Greece would accept a settlement in the following lines: A period of self-government, with a Greek Cypriot elected majority in the Assembly. The Ministers would be responsible to the Governor, who would also be in charge of foreign affairs and defence for the whole of the period of self-government and for internal security for one year. On self-determination, there would be no discussion for three to five years. After this period, the NATO Council would decide the date of its application either by plebiscite, or by "parliamentary process". This date could not be less than 5 or more than 8 years. Britain, thus would retain the whole of Cyprus for a period of 8 to 13 years. After this, she would retain a Base in Cyprus and she would receive another one in Greece. Two or three free ports would be established in Cyprus for the trade between the island and Turkey to go on without passing through Greek customs. These ports would be under international administration, of NATO, or of the United Nations. (One has to note the Greek care not to give any territorial rights to Turkey, as would have happened, perhaps, if these ports were to be under joint Greek-Turkish administration). There would be effective minority guarantees for the Turkish Cypriots: They would not serve in the Greek Army, they could opt for double nationality, and would have an agreed proportion in the civil service. A right of appeal to an international juridical body could be established for minority matters. A Minister in the interim government of 13 years would be Turk. There would be a degree of demilitarization of Cyprus.

An amnesty for the EOKA fighters would also be required. It is clear that, by then, Greece was going as far as she felt possible to satisfy Turkish needs. It may well be said that these Greek thoughts presented a far better chance to settle the dispute than the British June 1956 plan, mentioned above: The British were prepared to give Ankara a veto on self-determination but no economic guarantee. The Greeks were prepared to give economic privileges, but not a Turkish veto. As for specific parts of the Greek approach, the thinking of self-government was the same to that Makarios had put forward in his negotiations with Harding, except in two points: Firstly, the Greek government did not ask for the establishment of a parliamentary democracy. Secondly, it was setting a short time limit for the transfer of internal security to the responsibility of Cypriot Ministers. As for the reference to NATO, it must be noted that the decision, required by it, was not *whether* self-determination would be applied: Its application would be part of the agreement. NATO would decide *when* this application would take place. On the other hand, Karamanlis's remarks to the Labour MP offer valuable opportunities to trace Greek anxieties of that time: Firstly, the search for national security in the framework of the Atlantic Alliance: It was the first time in the history of the Greek state that it participated in an alliance together with great powers. This alliance offered a territorial guarantee. Greece, it should be remembered, did not have an alliance with a great power even during the first or the second world wars. Secondly, the anxiety to solve the country's most permanent problem: economic development. This, indeed, is not the only occasion that Karamanlis made clear his conviction that dealing with the economy and improving the standard of living would contribute to overcome many of the country's difficulties, the political ones included. Finally, one has to note that despite the importance Greece attached to NATO, Karamanlis did not hesitate to imply, indirectly, that the continuation of the dispute might put Greek participation in it at stake. This kind of remarks seem to have been born out of genuine anxiety of Athens, but they were used as threats as well. They were repeated on other occasions. The British were not impressed by them, but the Americans seemed much more worried¹⁰.

When, however, Noel Baker communicated the plan to the British government, London had already put its own proposal, mentioned before, to Ankara and it was rejected (Greece did not know about this because the British

10. Seferis Ghiorgos, *Meres 1951-1956*, Ikaros, Athens, 1986, pp. 222-224; Philip Noel-Baker to Eden 20 June 1956 PRO CO 926/551/730, for Greek threats about the effect of the Cyprus question to Greek participation in NATO, see Roberts (Belgrade) to Young 11 Sep. 1956 FO 371/123860/12 or/and FO minute (Kirkpatrick) 6 Sep. 1956, FO 371/123925/2026.

scheme was not put to her). Furthermore, the Suez rebels were becoming restless about the government's intentions for Cyprus and the British Cabinet felt the need to commit the Lord Privy Seal, R. A. Butler, one of the leading personalities of the Conservative Party and number two in the seniority of governmental post, to ease their anxiety. Britain would not consider another Enosis proposal at that point. Thus, the Greek presentation, which, anyway, was not made through the normal diplomatic channels, did not impress London. Athens put a similar Enosis proposal again in July, through the Greek-American businessman Spyros Scouras, who wanted to mediate in the Cyprus dispute. This time the Greeks added that the NATO Council would decide the limitations of Greek troops in Cyprus. The British, again, refused to consider an Enosis proposal. Furthermore, the British Ambassador in Athens, Sir Charles Peake, noting that the Greek government was committed to Enosis, had insisted that it was "hostage-to-the-extremists" and that it could not be trusted. This view, influenced by the intensification of the Cyprus dispute, was wrong, as the Greek Opposition was badly split, after the February election, when united, it did not win a majority in the Parliament, although it secured more votes in the ballot. (After February, it had become clear that the Centre would not again present an electoral coalition with the Left). Therefore, the government's position could not be challenged. Wrong or not, this view of Peake's influenced the British attitude throughout 1956¹¹.

By the time the Greek government received the invitation to attend the Suez Conference, it had decided to press the leader of the EOKA, Gheorghios Grivas, to announce a truce in Cyprus. Athens was extremely anxious about the fate of the Istanbul Greeks and about the further strengthening of Turkey in the dispute. London had ignored two Greek approaches. A truce in the island might change the British attitude. A new Greek Consul General, Anghelos Vlachos, was sent in Nicosia, with Karamanlis's personal orders to establish contact with Grivas and to make arrangements for a truce¹².

III. GREECE, THE ARAB STATES AND THE CONFERENCE

The Suez crisis placed Greece in a very pressing, as well as multidimen-

11. PRO CAB 128/30 46th Conclusions 28 June 1956, Chancery (Athens) to FO 26 June 1956 FO 286/1360, Peake to FO 9 Apr. 1956 FO 371/123884/769, Peake to FO 12 Apr. 1956 FO 371/123882/722

12. Vlachos Anghelos S., *Mia Fora ke Ena Kero Enas Diplomatis (50 Kyverniseis)*, *Tomos D, Genikos Proxenos* (Once Upon a Time a Diplomat (50 governments), volume IV, Consul General), Hestia, Athens 1986, pp. 233-235.

sional dilemma. The relations between Athens and the Arabs were improving: Immediately after the February elections, the Karamanlis government made approaches to Egypt (the most important Arab country, the one, indeed, claiming Arab leadership), Syria and Lebanon. There were many reasons for this move: the Cyprus issue, trade and the deteriorating position of the Greek community in Egypt. In mid-March, the Minister without Portfolio, Grigorios Kassimatis was sent for a tour in Cairo, Damascus and Beirut, which the British watched with interest. While in Egypt, in a Press Conference, Kassimatis stated that the Greek government wanted to strengthen ties with Cairo. He also said that Greece was free to pursue an independent policy, despite her NATO membership. Yet, he made clear that Athens would not withdraw from the Alliance (the issue was debated in Greece, in late 1955) and that a Belgrade-Athens-Cairo-New Delhi axis was inconceivable. Nasser promised Egyptian support for Cyprus and limited himself to saying that the Greeks of Egypt were treated on an equal footing with the Egyptians. At the same time, in Damascus, the Syrians, under pressure from the Turkish Ambassador not to identify themselves too closely with Greece, informed the British that they would take a new line. They said that they were in agreement with Nasser that since Britain was determined to stay in the region, it would be better for Egypt and Syria if Britain stayed in Cyprus, rather than in Suez, or Jordan. The Foreign Office was not convinced that this was the Syrian attitude. Instead, a Foreign Office minute on, March 27, expressed the understanding that the Syrian position on Cyprus changed, because Damascus was afraid of Turkey and because the Syrians themselves had territorial ambitions in regard to Cyprus. It is not clear whether Greece had any knowledge of a possible re-examination of the policies of these two countries, which, up to then, supported the Cypriot cause. It is clear, though, that this visit to Damascus removed the prospects of any such change. The Greek Minister, in a press conference, announced that the Syrian officials had given him promise of support over Cyprus. He also stressed the Greek position that the Cyprus issue was one between Greece and Britain—not Turkey. He, furthermore, reminded that Greece had supported the Arabs in the 1948 war with Israel and that “so far” she had not recognised Israel *de jure*. (In this respect, one has to keep in mind that the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which was under Greek influence, was found in a difficult position after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, when its site and its property were found in different sides of the border. Greece had to deal with this situation too). After the visit there were signs of improvement in the relations between the two countries. Later in the year,

the British considered that the rumours that King Paul would visit Damascus, agreed with the general tendency¹³.

By summer, there was more progress in the Greek-Arab relations. The British Chargé in Athens, Anthony Lambert, (Peake had returned to London for health reasons), reported on it in early July. In a despatch to the Head of the Southern Department of the Foreign Office, William Hilary Young, Lambert noted that Greece was at pains to cultivate good relations with Egypt and other Arab states. After Kassimatis's tour, the Greek government sponsored a Conference of the Chambers of Commerce of Athens and of some Arab countries. The Chargé underlined that the Egyptian Ambassador in Athens attended its opening session. Karamanlis and Papaligouras, the Minister of Commerce, received the Arab delegates after the Conference, while the President of the Federation of the Arab Chambers of Commerce sent a warm message to the Greek government, after the event. Greece had also announced that she would participate to the Damascus Trade Fair. Lambert explained the Greek willingness to approach the Arabs, by "the weakening of Greece's loyalties to the West, consequent upon the strains of last year". However, he mentioned that, although a part of the Opposition and of the Press had asked for an alignment with Cairo as an alternative to NATO, the government had remarked that Greece attached great importance to Egyptian friendship, but did not overrate its value. The Chargé stressed the emotional sympathy between Athens and Cairo, because of their anticolonial policies. However, he regarded that there was little space for an improvement of trade relations between them: The principal Greek interest was for the fate of the Greek community in Egypt. Indeed, Averoff, in his memoirs, stressed that the position of the Greek community was dominant in the thinking of the Greek government during the Canal crisis. Athens understood that the days of the Greek community were limited, but it was also anxious to smoothen their withdrawal from Egypt¹⁴.

Thus, the Greek government found itself in a difficult cross-road. The Western powers, Greece's allies, were asking for her participation in the Suez Conference. So did her economic interests: A country with a developing merchant fleet had an interest to side with the maritime powers in this dispute

13. Trevelyan (Cairo) to FO 22 March 1956 FO 371/123880/627, Gardener (Damascus) to FO 26 March 1956 FO 371/123880/637, Gardener to FO 28 Mar. 1956 FO 371/123880/646, FO minute (Thomson) 27 March 1956 FO 371/123880/637, for the position of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem see Vlachos, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-125 (Vlachos had been Consul General in Jerusalem before going to Cyprus).

14. Lambert to Young 4 July 1956 FO 371/123852/1, Averoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-138.

One should note that the United States, which finally confronted Britain and France in November, had every interest in the success of the Conference. Its success would mean that an embarrassing crisis in the Middle East might be avoided. This, in turn, was more important, since it was an election year and President Eisenhower was running on a peace platform. Therefore, in summer 1956, the differences between London and Washington had not yet developed. Quite the opposite, both countries agreed that the Conference should be held. Thus, the US threw her weight with the Greeks in favour of their participation. Dulles sent a personal message to Karamanlis asking for Greek participation. This way, the Greek dilemma had been clearly defined: Athens counted much on American support in regard to Cyprus. Equally, there was always the possibility that a refusal to attend would make the Greek government appear far too pro-Nasserite in British eyes. Being seen by London to side with Nasser, the principal British foe, in a region of principal British interests, might endanger the Greek claim for Enosis: London was not likely to give Cyprus to a friend of one of its worst enemies. The Foreign Office, in fact, had already watched carefully Greek assurances to Arabs that Athens would not permit the use of a British Base in a Greek Cyprus against them. On the other hand, Greece could not risk endangering the Alexandria Greeks, or Arab support in the United Nations¹⁵.

In early August, Lambert reported that the Greek government appeared divided on whether to accept or not the invitation. Averoff seemed to be in favour of acceptance. On August 8, Averoff expressed to Lambert the Greek anxiety not to appear pro-Nasserite and delivered the Greek answer: Athens suggested that the Conference should be delayed, clearly an effort to avoid a refusal. On the following day, Lambert pressed the Foreign Minister asking for Greece's participation. Otherwise, he said, Greece would be seen as "being lined up with Nasser, if not worse". Averoff replied that to attend the Conference and vote against an important Resolution would be worse than not attending at all. Lambert, reporting the conversation, made his disappointment about the Greek attitude clear, but also expressed his belief that Athens would, in the end, participate. At the same time, as Lambert reported, the French and the Americans were exercising strong pressure on the Greeks to accept. On the 10th, Averoff asked the Chargé whether in case of Greek participation, he would have direct talks with Selwyn Lloyd on Cyprus (It must

15. FO minute (Thomson) 21 March 1956 FO 371/123879/582, FO minute (Thomson) 4 Apr. 1956 FO 371/123880/650, Lambert to FO 6 Aug. 1956 PRO PREM-11/1380.

be remembered that the truce was being arranged in Cyprus. A direct approach to the British seemed to appeal to Athens). However, on the 11th, the Greek government declined the invitation, despite the American and British pressure. On August 11, Averoff stressed to Lambert that the protection of the Greek community in Egypt was the main reason for this. The Chargé, loyal to the hostage-to-the-extremists thesis, reported to London that the Greek response was influenced by internal political difficulties. Years later, Selwyn Lloyd, in his memoirs, mentioned that the fate of the Greek community was the reason of the Greek refusal: "Greece was wise not to come". In 1956, however, the refusal only provoked British anger. At the same time, Athens, at Egypt's request, did not withdraw the Greek pilots from Suez, contributing, in this way, to the failure of the maritime powers to put Nasser in the wrong, by closing the Canal¹⁶.

Athens had sided with Nasser and this, for London, could hardly be taken as anything else than a hostile act. On the 13th, Young minuted that Greece's refusal was due to the government's fear of offending Egypt. It was, he noted, a valuable commentary on the Greek claim that Cyprus, in Greek hands, would have been of greater value to Britain than under British sovereignty. "If Greece is not even prepared to attend a Conference because of the offense which might be given to Egypt, how much less could she be expected to agree to British use of Cyprus for military purposes contrary to Egyptian policy?" The British bitterness was also expressed in a letter from the Chargé in Cairo, T. W. Carrews, to Lambert, on September 16: "There has been much mutual back-scratching between Egyptians and Greeks over the Cyprus and the Suez issues". He also noted that Greek efforts to approach Cairo had met with Egyptian response. He pointed to Nasser's interview to the pro-government daily, "Kathimerini", and to the Greek-Egyptian cultural agreement signed on September 4, less than a month after the Greek refusal to attend the Conference. Carrews also mentioned the favourable impression created in Egypt by the continuation of the service of the Greek pilots, all of whom were decorated by the Egyptian government. He, however, pointed out that the Greek community of Egypt was still in a difficult position, many of its members leaving either for Greece, or (the younger ones) for Australia or South

16. Lambert to FO 8 Aug. 1956 PREM-11/1380, Lambert to Young 9 Aug. 1956 FO 371/123916/1798, Lambert to FO 10 and 11 Aug. 1956 PREM-11/1380. Most of the Athens telegrams about Greek participation in the Conference can be found in the Prime Minister's papers. This is an indication about the importance London attached to the Conference and to the Greek reluctance to attend. Selwyn Lloyd, *Suez, 1956-A Personal Account*, Jonathan Cape, London 1978, p. 107.

America. The departure of the British had resulted to loss of jobs for many Europeans. He claimed that "kind words" was only "cold comfort" to the Greek community. One has to note the tendency of the British diplomat to avoid considering the fate of the community without even that Greco-Egyptian rapprochement¹⁷.

The peak of Britain's bitterness for the Greek attitude was a report by Lambert, on August 29. He insisted that the Greek refusal made an overall examination of Greek foreign policy necessary. Indeed, his report was addressed to Selwyn Lloyd himself and it is contained in a file under the title "Greek foreign policy". Lambert considered the US interest in Greece "fragile". Even the Greeks, he insisted, regarded it impermanent. (It is not clear to whom he referred. Certainly the government did not think that US interest was fragile). Apart from the Greek-American friendship, Lambert remarked that "Greece's loyalty to NATO is now reduced to little more than lip service". He also noted that Greece would be willing to exchange the Greco-Turkish-Yugoslavian Alliance (of 1953-54) with a bilateral treaty with Belgrade, which was seen in London as damaging for the interests of NATO in the region. The *Chargé* expressed the fear that the continuation of the Cyprus dispute opened Greece to Soviet penetration. He mentioned her increasing contacts with Eastern European countries and the visit to Athens of the Soviet Foreign Minister in June. Lambert suggested that Britain should keep firm with the Greeks in regard to Cyprus. It is worth noting that he expressed these thoughts only one month after moderate Greek proposals on Cyprus had been communicated to London. (However, they were proposals on the basis of Enosis, which made them unacceptable for Britain). If not anything else, Lambert sent his report just nine days after Grivas had announced a truce in Cyprus, which was a Greek attempt to find common ground with Britain and work for a solution. The truce had been accompanied by many Greek efforts to convince the British that they were behind the move. Averoff himself, on August 19, had hinted to Lambert as much, indirectly, but clearly enough. The *Chargé*, though, had again put forward the hostage-to-the-extremists thesis: He reported that the Greek government knew nothing about the truce and that Averoff's approach was made simply because the Greeks did not want to be left out of a settlement. In the end, the British allowed themselves to believe that the EOKA had been defeated. They ignored the Greek approaches and responded to the truce by offering terms of surrender for its

17. FO minute (Young) 13 Aug. 1956 FO 371/123917/1810, Carrews (Cairo) to Lambert 26 Sep. 1956 FO 371/123852/2.

members. EOKA resumed its action after this. It must be noted that Vlachos (who had been called to Athens to confer with Karamanlis and Averoff about EOKA's response), had requested Grivas not to answer before his return from Greece. Grivas, though, ignored this¹⁸.

IV. THE AFTERMATH: CYPRUS AND THE INVASION OF EGYPT

On September 20, Lambert sent a another report to Selwyn Lloyd. This time, he stressed that Karamanlis was suspicious of the British and that there was a strong feeling in favour of neutralism in the country. The Chargé painted a gloomy picture of the situation in Greece. In October, after Karamanlis sent a personal message to Dulles, the Greeks succeeded to provoke a semi-official US mediation. Julius Holmes, a personal Advisor to Dulles on NATO issues, undertook to mediate, secretly, in the dispute. Athens put a self-determination proposal, similar to the July one, without any mention of free ports. It was rejected by London, because it disregarded the Turkish interests, "which, it is common ground, are of fundamental importance". This Greek proposal, moreover, is significant from another point of view as well: The one concerning the claim of Turkish sources, later, that Averoff had proposed partition of Cyprus to the Turkish Ambassador in Athens, Settar Iksel. We, now, have Averoff's account of the conversation, published in Professor Xydis's book, from which it is clear that the Greek Foreign Minister had made clear to Iksel that Athens was opposed to partition. The Greek proposal during the Holmes mission provides for a further proof that Averoff's account is accurate. The Averoff-Iksel conversation took place on October 6. The Greek proposal was given to the British, by the Americans, on October 8. Thus, it had been given by the Greeks to Holmes before the conversation in question (and it had been decided even before handing it to him). Therefore, it is an additional proof that the Greek line was one of Enosis. The irony was that since the Holmes negotiation was a secret one, the public simply did not know about the mediation, which, initially, was undertaken without Ankara's knowledge. (The British, indeed, were anxious to make clear to Turkey that they did not like this US move). As far as the Holmes negotiation is concerned, some other points, concerning Suez, should be covered. London agreed to consider this American mediation in September. Evidently, Athens hoped

18. Lambert to Selwyn Lloyd 29 Aug. 1956 FO 371/123850/1, Lambert to FO 19 Aug. 1956 FO 371/123918/1825, Eden to Harding 18 Aug. 1956 FO 371/123918/1838, Vlachos, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-282.

that USA's prestige and power would make it difficult for Britain to reject out of hand a proposal put forward during Washington's mediation. This, however, might have been the case for any other period of post war history. Not for autumn 1956, when the Suez crisis came to a head and the famous "special relationship" between Britain and the US at its lowest ebb. The Eisenhower administration had warned Britain to avoid a war crisis in Suez, especially before the American Presidential elections, in November. Despite this, the Eden government decided to go ahead challenging Nasser by force. On October 22, Britain, France and Israel, in secret, examined the possibility of military action against Cairo. Eden allowed himself to agree to such an action. It began with an Israeli attack on Egypt, in late October. Britain, then, claimed that the 1954 Base agreement with Egypt gave her the right to interfere, reactivate the Base and separate the Israeli and the Egyptian forces. Thus, the 1954 agreement finally became the vehicle of the Franco-British military intervention, which started in the first days of November, less than a week before the US election. This, also, shows the extent to which Britain was willing to defy American advice. The intervention failed, mainly because of the US reaction. However, if the British, in the time in question, were prepared to ignore US advice in respect of Suez, to an extent, indeed, that might undermine Eisenhower's re-election prospects, they were, of course, much more prepared to ignore this advice in respect to Cyprus. This was one of the reasons the Holmes mediation led nowhere. On October 9, having received the Greek proposal put in the framework of the Holmes mission, Eden minuted: "I am bewildered with this Holmes negotiations (...) I do not understand on what grounds the Americans are in this special position. It could not be by virtue of the help they have given us over Suez". On the 22nd, Young expressed the opinion that the State Department was "sold out to the Greeks". Thus, the Suez crisis appeared once more in the Cyprus issue, this time undermining the prospects of a solution. Athens, however, could not have detected the course things would take. The British-American rift of November could not have been foreseen by anyone. It was as unexpected as the timing of the intervention of London and Paris in Egypt. The affair culminated within some days. Simultaneously with the Anglo-French invasion in Egypt, the Soviet Army crushed the Hungarian revolt¹⁹.

19. On the invasion of Egypt see, among others, Warner Geoffrey, "'Collusion' and the Suez Crisis of 1956", *International Affairs*, 55 (1979) pp. 226-239; Adamthwaite Anthony, "Suez Revisited". in Dockrill Michael and Young John W. (ed.), *British Foreign Policy, 1945-56*, Macmillan, London 1989, pp. 225-245; Lamb, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-279; on Cyprus

Since June, Athens had put suggestions of how the Cyprus issue could be settled, twice. When this failed, Greece tried to make an opening to London with the August truce. When the British refused to believe Greek assurances that this was a Greek effort to facilitate a settlement, Athens managed to play a last card, by convincing the Americans to undertake a mediation. This was a good option for Greece, but it did not work because of reasons beyond her control. There was nothing more she could do. She had tried four times and had been rebuffed. She, then, could only wait for the British offer of self-government for Cyprus, on which Lord Radcliffe had been working. By that time, though, Ankara had started pressing the British for partition of the island. In December 1956, the Colonial Secretary, Alan Lennox-Boyd, presented the Radcliffe proposals, accompanying them with a statement that when self-determination would come about, this right would be given to the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots separately. Thus, the most likely alternative for the British withdrawal became partition—not Enosis. Lennox-Boyd had visited Athens and Ankara to present the plan. He had assured the Turkish Prime Minister, Adnan Menderes, that Britain had “no intention of presenting the Turks with a united Cyprus in foreign hands offering a threat to the southern ports of Turkey”. The decision to refer to partition was influenced by the difficulties Britain faced at Suez, but not from the failure of her intervention. Indeed, the move of London towards this option had started before the invasion. Still, the 19 December statement was an unprecedented strengthening of Ankara in the Cyprus dispute, a development Greece had made every effort to prevent with her 1956 approaches. Britain, however, promised to Turkey partition in the case of a change of the status quo. It was a promise, based, significantly, on the very right of self-determination. From then on, such a Greek claim could lead to partition, not to Enosis. The Greek claim for Enosis through self-determination had virtually been blocked. The Radcliffe proposals were rejected out of hand, by Greece (despite strong American pressure to accept them), because of the provision for partition. Vlachos, from Nicosia, reported that the Lennox-Boyd statement was “black-mail”: The Cypriots would have to choose either the continuation of British rule, or a change of status and partition. The Consul General expressed his

developments see Lambert to Selwyn Lloyd 20 Sep. 1956 CO 926/450/41, Selwyn Lloyd to Nutting 8 Oct. 1956 FO 371/123928/2172, PM's personal minute 9 Oct. 1956 FO 371/123928 2172, Young to Salt 23 Oct. 1956 FO 371/123929/2185, FO to Bowker 28 Oct. 1956 FO 371/123933/2295; Xydis Stephen G., *Cyprus: Conflict and Conciliation, 1954-1958*, The Ohio State University Press, Columbus Ohio 1967, pp. 87-89.

fear that the British had planted the seeds of a Greco-Turkish conflict over Cyprus. The next years proved him absolutely right²⁰.

The British attitude towards Greece and the Suez crisis was resumed by Peake, in the annual review for 1956. On March 7 1957, the Ambassador sent his report to Selwyn Lloyd, who continued to be Foreign Secretary, after Harold Macmillan replaced Eden, in January 1957. Peake noted that throughout 1956, Greece had shown a dislike of Britain: From refusing to participate in NATO exercises, to the interception of B.E.A. aircraft by the Royal Hellenic Air Force. The Greek government had closed many British Institutes in the country. Even personal relationships with Greek officials had cooled (social contact had always been a factor facilitating British influence in Greece). The government had decided to nationalise two large British companies in Greece: The Piraeus Electricity Company and the Cable and Wireless (this, one must note, was in line with Karamanlis's task to develop the country economically. In the economic field, Peake stressed that Greece had made progress in that year). Athens had rejected immediately the Radcliffe proposals and had tried to extract more US aid and US political support over Cyprus. Relations with the other Western states had deteriorated (in this, Peake would prove wrong: the relations with Western European countries improved markedly in 1956 and continued improving in the following years). The gap between Greece and Turkey, Peake continued, was wider than any time before. The country, though, had remained in NATO. As for Suez, "The Middle Eastern crisis in summer of 1956, demonstrated as clearly perhaps as anything the frailty of Greece's links with the West. Although by reason of her position as a maritime power, the interests of Greece in the Suez Canal are similar to those of other ship-owning states, Her Majesty's Government invitation to Greece to participate in the Suez Conference in London was refused; and Greece has since made it clear that her sympathies lie with Nasser. Indeed, during the Russian suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, Greek propaganda held to the view that there was little to choose between the Russians and the British both in Suez and in Cyprus"²¹.

20. Stewart (Ankara) to FO 12 Oct. 1956 FO 371/123930/2207 and 2211, Lennox-Boyd (Athens) to Eden 15 Dec. 1956 FO 371/123939/2470, Record (Lennox-Boyd, Menderes) 16 Dec. 1956 FO 371/123942/2554, Peake to FO 16 Dec. 1956 FO 371/123939/2481; Averoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158; Vlachos, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-315.

21. Peake to Selwyn Lloyd 7 March 1956 FO 371/130013/1.

V. CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that the Greek foreign policy, as well as its most important issue, Cyprus, were not confined in the narrow framework of Greece's needs. It had to do with many other aspects of the international scene, many of whom lay beyond the boundaries of a country of South Eastern Europe, struggling to achieve Enosis with a part of the nation, as well as economic development and national security for the very first time in her history. The main principle in the country's foreign policy was the need to secure the much needed national security. All the more, since security would facilitate economic development, which also was one of the primary aims. NATO membership, thus, was regarded indispensable: It was the first time in her history that Greece participated in an alliance along with the strongest western states, an alliance which offered a territorial guarantee. Greece had spent twenty out of the century's first fifty years being engaged in wars, while in the rest thirty years she had to cope with poverty (intensified by the need to accommodate the 1922 refugees and, after that, by the need to deal with the devastation caused by the war against the Axis and by the civil war). A solution in these two issues, security and poverty, was urgently needed. At the same time, Greece made some first overtures to Western Europe. This was also needed for economic development. However, her commitment in the Cypriot cause and her anxiety to safeguard other parts of the nation (in Turkey and in the Middle East) created needs which had to be dealt with: The Greco-Turkish relations were in ruins after the 1955 riots and this, of course, created a further problem of security. The fact that Turkey was a NATO member complicated things even further. Greece searched for a solution for this in better relations with Tito's Yugoslavia, while she also tried to find a satisfactory solution for the Cyprus issue (something more easily said than done, having in mind the British priorities). She carefully, in the middle of the cold war, started to smoothen political, not only commercial, relations with Eastern European countries and she tried to approach the Arabs for reasons affecting more than one of the above considerations. In all these efforts, the need to promote the Cypriot cause was predominant (indeed, Peake, in the 1956 annual review, was distressed to see that Cyprus was dominant in the Greek thinking). These Greek aims, thus, were even less easy to achieve in the difficult period in question. The Suez crisis offers many opportunities for someone to trace the Greek difficulties of that time.

In regard to Cyprus, some things have to be stressed: The motives behind the British attitude were Turkey's importance for British policy in the Middle

East and the increasing difficulties for London in the region, difficulties which culminated in the Suez crisis. The loss of the Suez Base was all-important in regard to Cyprus. The thesis, therefore, that Britain tried to appease Ankara, because Turkey pursued an independent policy, whereas Greece was always "secure" to the West, is wrong. Quite the opposite, it is clear from the British archives, that it was Turkey (the Baghdad Pact ally) which was seen as much more loyal an ally than Greece. According to the British, Greece only paid "lip service" to NATO. Greece was Nasser's friend (it really is difficult to imagine anything which would embarrass Britain more than this). Greece was ready to develop relations with Eastern Europe. Greece was placing appeals on Cyprus, against Britain, at the United Nations, at the Council of Europe, at UNESCO (on Cypriot education). Greece continued her broadcasts to Cyprus. Greece was trying to use US support in regard to Cyprus. Most of all, the Greek government was not only committed to Enosis, but "hostage-to-the-extremists" as well. Karamanlis was seen as anti-British. Hardly the picture of a secure ally.

After Makarios's deportation, Athens tried to bring London back to the negotiating table. In order to convince the British that Turkish interests were not necessarily incompatible with Enosis, Greece was prepared to give not only extensive minority rights to the Turkish Cypriots, but economic advantages to Turkey as well. She was even prepared to accept limitations to stationing troops in a Greek Cyprus. Thus, it is not true that Athens ignored the Turkish role in the dispute in 1956. Finally, her hope that an American mediation would help the Enosis cause did not materialize, again because of developments which had to do with the Suez crisis. Greece's efforts failed and in December, with partition entering the scene, Turkey was found in an extremely strong position.

Athens, simultaneously, made openings to the Arabs, mainly Egypt. Egypt was not only posing as the leader of the Arab world (whose support was needed for Cyprus), but also was the host of a Greek community facing strains. The Suez Conference invitation placed Greece in a sharp dilemma: How to safeguard the Alexandrian Greeks, without undermining the prospects of Enosis by identifying herself too closely with Nasser. The government, thus, was caught in a cross-fire: Greece felt that she could not risk the fate of the Greeks in Egypt, or Arab support for Cyprus in the UN. She declined the invitation, despite the US pressure.

The above show the degree of complication in the Cyprus issue as well as in the reform of the country's foreign policy in the 1950's. When political loyalties, economic interests, the interests of different parts of Hellenism (and

one must not forget the Istanbul Greeks and the Patriarchate in this respect), as well as the Greco-Turkish relations were brought in the scene, time and time again, together with the dangerous environment of the cold war (whose Greece had been the first battleground) and the Middle Eastern crisis, the options were anything but clear cut. Very often, Athens's anxiety was not how to make the best benefit (many times this was impossible or unpredictable). The Greek anxiety was how to limit the damages in some aspects, together with promoting national interests in some others. This, exactly, was the case of the Suez crisis.

Scholar of the Greek State Scholarships Foundation

MINAS ANALYTIS

LA RESTRUCTURATION ÉCONOMIQUE EN URSS: UNE ANALYSE RÉTROSPECTIVE DE LA NOUVELLE GESTION SOVIÉTIQUE

“Quelquefois, nous reprochons aux organes du Gosplan, et aux ministères d'avoir violé les intérêts du consommateur, et d'avoir causé des pertes à la production. Quand tant de personnes commettent des erreurs, il est nécessaire d'en trouver les raisons, pas uniquement dans leurs caractéristiques individuelles, mais avant tout dans le système lui-même; plus précisément dans la théorie de planification qui conçoit la gestion de l'économie par un centre omniscient”

E. G. Liberman
Economiste soviétique

Au-delà des tentatives de réforme entreprises depuis le début des années 1960 jusqu'à aujourd'hui, l'objectif prioritaire des réformateurs soviétiques est resté inaltérable: introduire au mécanisme économique, hérité du modèle de gestion stalinienne, des instruments de guidage et de contrôle, afin de rendre plus efficace le fonctionnement de l'économie, sclérosée par l'emprise quasi-totale de l'idéologie sur la vie économique.

L'introduction de ces instruments devait respecter les contraintes systémiques, et par conséquent les réformateurs étaient obligés d'en tenir compte pour formuler leurs schémas alternatifs. Les mesures prises périodiquement étaient censées redonner une nouvelle pulsion à l'appareil productif, facilitant ainsi la réalisation des objectifs centralement assignés au moindre coût. Cette pulsion aurait modifié la base de production, de sorte que le progrès technique puisse s'y incorporer plus facilement.

La supériorité du système socialiste sur le plan de l'avance technologique constitue par principe une caractéristique très importante, capable de mettre à pied d'égalité les deux systèmes, par définition antagonistes. Un antagonisme basé sur le renforcement du système sur le plan de l'expansion militaire. Or, dans leurs choix, les réformateurs soviétiques doivent inclure cette particularité qui, outre des raisons d'ordre idéologique, reflète le poids considérable du pays dans les relations internationales. Remarquons que l'une des fonctions principales du régime est de renforcer constamment sa position

sur le plan militaire et de soutenir l'expansion de sa politique de puissance¹.

Dans le présent article, nous allons essayer d'approcher la restructuration économique en URSS à travers ses problèmes structurels. Nous aurons ainsi plus de chances d'une part de saisir le contenu des réformes, et d'autre part d'émettre des hypothèses concernant l'arrêt ou la poursuite de l'effort entrepris depuis 1985.

Une première conclusion s'impose; la libéralisation de l'économie soviétique de contraintes administratives constitue une tâche ardue et de longue haleine, qui sous-tend la caractéristique principale du système planifié à répondre avec du retard considérable aux tentatives réformatrices. Il serait par conséquent erroné de vouloir interpréter l'effectivité des réformes sans tenir compte de cette caractéristique structurelle. Les réformes peuvent s'accélérer, et devenir effectives, à condition qu'il y ait un recul de l'idéologie de la sphère de gestion économique. Il s'agit certainement d'un objectif difficile (sinon impossible) à réaliser, car le système puise sa légitimité dans l'omniprésence du parti dont la mission consiste à guider toute sorte d'action. Soixante dix ans de gestion administrative ont façonné les esprits, et ils ont créé une continuité dans la poursuite des objectifs du système qui se protège contre les mouvements qui mettraient en péril sa cohésion.

Le double but du nouveau pouvoir est simultanément de nature politique et économique et un nombre important d'analystes réformateurs soviétiques s'y réfèrent².

L'académicien soviétique Abalkine écrit à propos de la réforme radicale du mécanisme économique, qu'elle ne peut aboutir aux résultats escomptés que si elle est réalisée simultanément et en accord avec la transformation du système politique des rapports sociaux, et de la vie spirituelle de la société³. Plus de démocratie alors, plus d'autonomie, plus d'économie. Slogans maintes fois utilisés par la nouvelle ligne réformatrice, qui vise aux changements qualitatifs d'une économie malade et en perte de vitesse. L'URSS, est-elle prête aujourd'hui à dynamiser son économie afin de participer efficacement à la compétition internationale?

En dépit de la sincérité du langage, la réponse demeure incertaine. En

1. O. Sik, *Pour une troisième voie*, PUF, 1978, page 130.

2. La sociologue Zaslavskaja, et l'économiste Aganbeguian constituent les maîtres à penser des réformateurs soviétiques.

3. L. Abalkine, "Bases politicoéconomiques de la réforme radicale du mécanisme économique", dans l'ouvrage collectif, *Réforme économique soviétique: recherches et solutions*, page 38.

fin de compte, le destin de la restructuration dépendra de la réaction du facteur humain.

Il n'est certainement pas prêt à assumer le coût de la transformation économique sans qu'il y ait une amélioration substantielle de son niveau de vie.

Le consommateur soviétique doit avant tout pouvoir s'approvisionner dans un marché sans pénuries, et où le rationnement ne sera plus la forme prédominante d'allocation de produits de consommation et de services.

Presque 5 ans après la prise du pouvoir par Gorbatchev, la viande et les produits laitiers sont des produits déficitaires, sans mentionner la crise du logement qui sévit dans les grandes villes. Signes alarmants d'un système de gestion inefficace, et d'une économie qui n'a pas encore pu orienter son appareil productif vers la satisfaction du consommateur, censé être le pilier de la réussite de la politique de restructuration.

I. LES PROBLÈMES STRUCTURELS DE L'ÉCONOMIE SOVIÉTIQUE

La vraie dimension des mesures de restructuration économique doit être analysée par rapport aux problèmes structurels de son économie. Or, si le mécanisme économique souffre d'une série de disfonctionnements affectant le processus productif, ceci est l'aboutissement inévitable des instruments de guidage et de contrôle économique vers la moindre efficacité⁴.

Cette évolution combinée avec la détérioration de variables naturelles du système (épuisement des ressources naturelles, grave problème démographique, e.t.c.) ont débouché sur la chute du taux de croissance du produit matériel net, qui suivant une simple extrapolation, atteindra le zéro au milieu des années quatre-vingt-dix⁵.

La décennie que l'URSS doit traverser constitue une période cruciale; ou bien il y aura une transformation de son économie par le perfectionnement de ces instruments, ou bien elle restera une grande puissance stratégique à économie sous-développée.

Etant donné que les variables naturelles comportent des limites que l'on ne peut pas franchir, la seule condition qui puisse relancer l'économie provient de la réactivation des instruments de guidage et de contrôle, ce qui touche

4. Les prix, le profit, l'intéressement économique constituent quelques uns de ces instruments.

5. M. Ellman, "La situation macro-économique en URSS: rétrospective et perspective", *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, 1985.

inévitablement aux mécanismes de préparation-exécution du plan et à la philosophie même de la planification.

Il devient alors impératif de rendre plus souple la gestion aussi bien micro-économique que macroéconomique. Cette position semble être la position prédominante des réformateurs qui voient en elle la réussite de la politique de restructuration. Selon Abalkine, le processus d'amélioration de la planification a besoin d'une réforme radicale, et il doit être divisé en deux sphères relativement autonomes bien qu'interdépendantes⁶. La première embrassant l'ensemble de l'économie, et la deuxième qui s'étend aux problèmes de la régulation des maillons de base de l'économie nationale.

Au regard des problèmes structurels de l'économie soviétique, nous entendons dépersonnaliser les tentatives de réforme, et faire dépendre leur réussite de la capacité du système à fournir des réponses réalistes. Au-delà de la personnalité de Gorbatchev, se situe une série de contraintes systémiques sur lesquelles les réformateurs n'agissent que partiellement. L'existence de ces contraintes délimite leur champ d'action qui se voient obligés d'en tenir compte. Par conséquent, toute tentative d'interprétation des réformes doit prendre en considération ce trait particulier, auquel va éventuellement se heurter l'effort de dynamisation de l'économie soviétique⁷.

1. La non prise en compte de la rareté relative des ressources productives

L'exploitation des ressources productives répond aux critères d'ordre idéologique qui faussent les choix économiques des planificateurs. De ce fait, ils ne sont plus aptes à orienter efficacement l'allocation des ressources productives.

Ce que les planificateurs perçoivent, ce ne sont pas les contraintes objectives du processus économique (contraintes technologiques, et contraintes de disponibilité où de non disponibilité). L'ingérence du parti dans la sphère économique fait que les responsables de la politique économique ne peuvent plus évaluer la valeur réelle de ces contraintes. Par conséquent, le calcul économique que les planificateurs doivent effectuer afin de procéder à un choix entre les solutions possibles est imparfait. Il en résulte une allocation erronée des ressources productives, situation qui facilite leur gaspillage dans l'économie nationale.

6. *Idem*, page 46.

7. Voir aussi: Analytis, "Les réformes de Gorbatchev: un conflit larvé entre le centre et la périphérie", *Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes Industrielles*, Thessalonique 1989

La non prise en compte de la rareté relative des ressources productives se traduit très souvent par des écarts entre les objectifs à atteindre, et les ressources réellement existantes qui serviront à la réalisation de ces objectifs. Il s'agit d'un problème chronique de l'économie soviétique portant atteinte à la cohérence du plan dont les objectifs sont fréquemment modifiés.

Dès 1928, Boukharine faisait mention de ce trait particulier, et il tournait en dérision le fait que l'on puisse planifier un certain nombre de maisons sans disposer de la quantité de briques correspondante. Un plan, écrivait-il, doit tenir compte des poutres et du fer en termes réels et non mythiques⁸.

Autrement dit, le décideur économique doit baser ses calculs sur les contraintes réelles de la vie économique, ne faisant pas intervenir ses options idéologiques.

Malheureusement, ce n'est pas le cas. La propriété collective des moyens de production et des ressources productives font reculer artificiellement leur rareté, et ainsi les planificateurs les traitent comme si elles étaient des biens libres.

La fonction-objectif agrégée peut ainsi obtenir sa valeur qui la maximise, maximisation qui s'effectue sans contraintes.

Toutefois, cette maximisation dans la vie économique est non opérationnelle. Au fur et à mesure que les contraintes apparaissent, elles modifient les objectifs partiels, retenus dans la fonction-objectif agrégée.

Par conséquent, lors de l'exécution du plan, résulte une série de déséquilibres qui compromettent sa réalisation. Ces déséquilibres portent atteinte aux agents économiques, qui se voient forcés de procéder à des actions qui tendent à enrayer ces déséquilibres sans pour autant pouvoir les éliminer entièrement.

En dépit du changement du mode de propriété, les ressources productives restent des biens relativement rares, et par conséquent leur gestion rationnelle nécessite le recul de l'idéologie, de sorte que les planificateurs puissent formuler leurs choix en fonction des critères d'ordre économique. En suivant l'analyse pénétrante des économistes, défenseurs de la politique de restructuration, il s'agit de surmonter l'idée encore enracinée selon laquelle l'utilisation gratuite des ressources productives est un attribut du socialisme⁹.

La gratuité n'est jamais gratuite; la conséquence directe d'une gestion qui ne tient pas compte de ce principe trivial et concis ne peut que porter atteinte à la modernisation de l'économie soviétique.

8 M. Lewin, "N. I. Boukharine: ses idées sur la planification économique et leur actualité", *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, Vol. XV, 1974.

9 *Ibid.*, page 75.

2. La fonction des prix socialistes

La non prise en compte de la rareté relative des ressources productives débouche sur la passivité des prix. Les prix qui de ce fait ne reflètent plus les tensions qui se développent dans l'économie ne sont déterminés ni par l'évolution des coûts (côté de l'offre), ni par les préférences des consommateurs (côté de la demande).

Ainsi consommateurs et producteurs se trouvent désorientés et la liaison entre eux s'effectue par une série d'injonctions administratives qui occupent a place laissée par l'arrêt du contrôle de l'économie par des prix effectifs. La plupart des biens et des services produits sont fournis dans l'économie soviétique aux prix non effectifs, provoquant la formation d'un excès de demande qui se dirige soit vers des canaux non officiels où les prix sont plus effectifs et l'excès de demande moins important¹⁰.

Les prix ne sont pas effectifs, puisque malgré l'excès de demande qui se forme, laissant entendre une élasticité non négative, l'offre reste inélastique sous forme de courbe verticale sur l'axe des quantités offertes par les réseaux officiels.

Le déséquilibre qui s'établit entre un système des prix inertes, et un excès de demande issu d'une offre déficitaire, débouche sur l'apparition des phénomènes de pénurie bien connus dans l'économie soviétique. Ces phénomènes touchent aussi bien les consommateurs et les unités productives.

La non effectivité d'un système des prix qui ne tient compte ni du degré de déficit des produits ni de celui des ressources productives, est le résultat des subventions que le budget d'Etat verse aux entreprises, afin que celles-ci pratiquent des prix fixés au-dessous du coût réel.

Grâce à cette politique, les prix restent remarquablement stables, ce qui n'empêche pas par ailleurs la propagation de déséquilibres tant micro-économiques que macro-économiques.

Les subventions que reçoivent les biens de consommation comme le pain, la viande ou le lait constituent un élément d'une économie gaspilleuse et dépensière perpétuant la mauvaise gestion économique.

Aganbeguian souligne que les subventions que l'Etat accorde à la production du mazout font que son utilisation dans nombreuses régions est plus avantageuse que celle de la huile. Le résultat de cette politique est frappant; la consommation de mazout en URSS est de l'ordre de 200 millions de tonnes,

10. Ces canaux forment un ensemble hétérogène qui constitue le champ privilégié de l'économie souterraine.

alors que sa consommation aux Etats-Unis a baissé jusqu'à 50 millions de tonnes¹¹.

Les subventions faussent les prix, et mettent les planificateurs et les responsables d'entreprises dans la quasi-impossibilité de prendre de décisions objectives.

Un économiste soviétique lors d'un entretien concernant les prix et leur formation a constaté ceci : aujourd'hui nous ne savons pratiquement pas ce que coûte à notre société la production de tel ou tel produit¹². La perversion du système des prix qui a été pratiqué, a débouché sur l'efficacité moindre des processus économiques¹³.

La réforme du système des prix constitue par conséquent la pierre angulaire de la restructuration de la nouvelle gestion soviétique. Or, les efforts du nouveau pouvoir doivent se concentrer sur leur réactivation. De simples unités comptables qui facilitent l'agrégation du plan, ils doivent devenir un instrument susceptible d'influencer les décideurs économiques dans la formulation de leurs choix alternatifs. Tâche sans doute difficile à réaliser si l'on s'en tient à la stabilité du niveau des prix que le système centralisé vante comme étant une de ses vertus. En effet, il y a des prix qui sont restés remarquablement stables depuis une longue date.

A titre d'exemple, citons le prix du loyer qui sans importantes modifications, est le même que celui qui était en vigueur en 1928. N'empêche que cette stabilité est source de graves déséquilibres dans le secteur du logement. La demande insatisfaite qui dépasse constamment l'offre, se traduit par la formation des files d'attente à caractère non observable pour l'obtention d'un logement qui très souvent est dépourvu de tout confort.

Quant aux prix des produits alimentaires vendus dans les magasins d'Etat, l'indice de ces prix est passé de 100 en 1960 à 109 en 1985. Sur la même période, mais cette fois dans le marché kolkhozien, l'indice en 1985 était 154¹⁴.

La différence entre les deux indices s'explique par le fait que dans le marché kolkhozien les prix sont 2-2,7 fois plus élevés que les prix pratiqués

11. *Ibid.*, page 34.

12. V. Kvint, A. Deryabin, Y. Kashin, V. Efremov, "Τιμές και διαμόρφωση τιμών στην ΕΣΣΔ" [Les prix et leur formation en URSS], *Επιστημονική Σκέψη [La pensée scientifique]*, 1988, Vol. 37, Athènes.

13. M. Nasilowski, "Le socialisme: système de gestion, rationalité économique et objectifs sociaux", *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, Vol. 18, 1987.

14. G. Duchêne, *L'économie de l'URSS*, Editions Le Découverte (Collection "Références"), page 51.

dans les magasins d'Etat, ce qui laisse supposer que les prix y sont plus effectifs et la tension pénurique plus faible.

3. *L'absence de concurrence*

La monopolisation idéologique de l'Etat soviétique s'accompagne, dans la sphère économique du phénomène de l'absence de concurrence parmi les producteurs.

Outre la domination par l'état-monopole sur la superstructure du système, il y a aussi un contrôle qui s'exerce par les organes de planification sur les producteurs, et par ce biais sur l'offre.

L'emprise et le contrôle serré de l'Etat sur les producteurs engendrent chez eux un sentiment de sécurité. L'écoulement de la production s'effectue sans difficultés dans la mesure où la demande dépasse l'offre. Dès lors, le centre de gravité de la concurrence se déplace et il se situe parmi les consommateurs. Ce sont eux qui font la queue pour obtenir un bien ou un service et non pas les producteurs.

Cette particularité semble revenir très souvent dans les analyses des économistes réformateurs.

C'est ainsi que Abalkine écrit à ce propos que plusieurs conséquences négatives du monopole sont dues à la situation exceptionnelle de certains producteurs, lorsque les consommateurs ne peuvent ni comparer, ni choisir leurs achats.

Il faudra faire en sorte que le consommateur puisse choisir parmi les fournisseurs (vendeurs)¹⁵.

En outre le maître à penser de la restructuration, Aganbeguian, écrit qu'il faut passer d'une économie de pénurie où le producteur exerce son diktat sur le consommateur, à une production sociale, orientée vers la satisfaction des besoins sociaux fonctionnant à la demande des consommateurs¹⁶.

Cette modification nécessite des changements importants aussi bien dans l'emploi des instruments économiques que dans les comportements des agents du système productif. En un mot, il est absolument nécessaire de passer d'un schéma de gestion exercée par des instruments peu performants, à une nouvelle gestion qui puisse rendre compte de la complexité d'organisation de l'économie soviétique contemporaine. A condition que cette modification se réalise,

15. *Ibid.*, page 51

16. A. Aganbeguian, *Perestroika: le double défi soviétique*, page 37.

La concurrence sera stimulée, et les consommateurs ne dépendront plus des producteurs groupés en une organisation monopolistique.

Il en découlera une diminution de l'excès de demande, diminution suivie d'une stimulation de l'offre qui de ce fait deviendra plus souple, apte à capter les changements des goûts des consommateurs.

Il est bien évident que tant que les causes qui facilitent la permanence des conditions monopolistiques persisteront, il y aura des phénomènes qui conduiront à l'entretien de l'inefficacité.

A ce propos, l'économiste Sik souligne qu'élimination totale du marché et monopolisation d'Etat absolu développent jusqu'à l'absurde la pratique des décisions de production monopolistique, et conduisent à des pertes d'efficacité d'une ampleur sans précédent¹⁷.

Afin que la restructuration puisse avoir des résultats concrets, il va falloir que l'économie soviétique modifie sa structure en effectuant un passage réussi et sans heurts d'une économie en état de "suction" à une économie en état de "pression"¹⁸.

Pour l'instant, ceci n'est pas le cas. Les récentes grèves des mineurs¹⁹ ont démontré que des carences substantielles dans l'approvisionnement en denrées alimentaires existent bel et bien, et rien n'a été fait pour les supprimer. Même à Moscou où il y a un meilleur approvisionnement, l'année dernière des pénuries de viande, de lait, de beurre, de sucre et d'allumettes ont fait leur apparition. Des économistes haussant la voix remarquent que si ces pénuries continuent à subsister, bientôt les magasins seront vides et le commerce cessera d'avoir lieu²⁰.

Perspective bien sombre, qui en même temps aurait sonné le fin de la politique de restructuration, jugée responsable des mauvais résultats obtenus.

4. La dépendance de l'entreprise

L'ingérence des organes de planification dans la vie économique de l'entreprise a eu comme résultat l'indépendance des revenus de leur propre

17. O. Sik, *Idem*, page 176.

18. Terminologie développée par J. Kornai, "Pressure and suction on the market", dans l'ouvrage de J. Thornton, *Economic analysis of the soviet system*, page 191.

19. Pendant les premiers six mois de l'année 1989, les grèves et les divers problèmes régionaux ont causé une perte de production de l'ordre de 200 millions de roubles. Par ailleurs, le produit national n'a augmenté que de 5% contre 6%, objectif officiel pour 1989.

20. *H Kαθημερινή* [Le quotidien], journal grec du 27.7.1989.

activité productive. L'entreprise perd ainsi son autonomie de décision et de choix. En contrepartie, l'Etat se porte garant de son existence dans le cas où l'unité enregistrerait des pertes, soit à cause de la volonté délibérée du planificateur, soit à cause du refus des unités-acheteurs d'absorber une production très souvent défectueuse et de mauvaise qualité.

Quels que soient les degrés de liberté que les organes accordent à l'entreprise, elle opère dans un univers de "dépendance duale"²¹. D'une part, elle dépend verticalement d'une bureaucratie pléthorique, d'autre part elle dépend horizontalement d'autres entreprises.

Cette double dépendance dans un climat de pénurie, conservé par le maintien du rationnement des biens de production (approvisionnement matériel et technique) supprime à l'entreprise la possibilité de maîtriser efficacement son processus productif. Il en résulte ainsi le phénomène de "déresponsabilisation"²²; l'entreprise étant soumise aux aléas d'approvisionnement et aux priorités du centre de planification, ne fait aucun effort substantiel pour améliorer sa production, d'autant plus que la nature monopolistique de l'économie assure son écoulement.

La politique de restructuration doit s'appuyer sur des mesures qui vont rendre le contrôle aux entreprises. L'Etat doit alors ne plus éponger les dettes des entreprises non rentables, condition capitale d'une gestion économique rationnelle. Si cette mesure était appliquée, 20 à 30 mines du Donbass et du Kouzbass seraient amenées à être fermées. Leur activité du point de vue de son efficacité économique ne peut être justifiée par aucun argument raisonnable²³.

Il s'agit alors de renverser la tendance qui a engendré l'absence d'intérêt à accroître la production et à économiser les ressources matérielles, le parasitisme et l'irresponsabilité, le désir de travailler selon le principe "donner moins, prendre plus".

Objectif nullement facile après tant d'années d'accoutumance de l'entreprise soviétique au paternalisme d'Etat, caractéristique bien enracinée dans l'histoire de l'économie soviétique.

Le nouveau pouvoir devra donner une réponse réaliste aux problèmes structurels de l'économie du pays, tout en gardant à l'esprit les principes de base d'une économie planifiée. De cette double tâche résulte une forte con-

21. J. Kornai, "The Hungarian reform process: visions, hopes, and reality", *Journal of economic literature*, Vol. XXIV, Dec. 1986, page 1694.

22. Ce phénomène explique en partie la mauvaise qualité de la production.

23. *Ibid.*, page 23.

tradition qui à son tour affecte des réformes conçues initialement. Les interventions correctrices qui s'ensuivent tendent à limiter les bouleversements que l'introduction des réformes a apportés. Les conflits larvés ou déclarés prouvent que le système résiste à toute forme d'innovation.

Dynamisation ou stagnation? Personne ne peut affirmer avec fermeté le résultat final d'un conflit passionnant au cours duquel les forces conservatrices et les forces réformatrices s'opposeront avec acharnement.

II. LES CARENCES DU PLAN SOCIALISTE

Les processus spontanés qui se développent à l'intérieur d'une économie décentralisée sont régulés par le mécanisme du marché dont le fonctionnement est basé sur un système des prix actifs. C'est le marché qui s'occupe des microajustements nécessaires entre l'offre et la demande. En même temps, le macrocontrôle procure les anticorps requis contre des phénomènes cumulatifs qui viendraient perturber l'économie.

Dans une économie centralement planifiée comme celle de l'Union Soviétique, cette dualité disparaît. Les activités de nature microéconomique sont déterminées par une procédure macroéconomique sous forme d'objectifs à atteindre par les participants au processus productif: entreprises, agents gouvernementaux et employés²⁴.

Au cours de cette procédure, les seules relations qui devraient subsister seraient les relations verticales liant les organes de planification, aux agents périphériques.

Il n'en reste pas moins que la gestion d'une économie complexe, quel que soit le régime de propriété des moyens de production, nécessite le déploiement des relations horizontales, et ceci, en dépit des premières approches de la théorie de planification.

Il en résulte une relative autonomie d'action des acteurs économiques, et par conséquent l'emprise de l'idéologie sur la sphère de gestion économique s'amointrit.

Cette autonomie qui facilite le fonctionnement de l'économie, constitue en même temps une contrainte aux mesures de restructuration.

Autrement dit, ladite autonomie d'un côté aide à la gestion extrêmement lourde de l'économie planifiée, et de l'autre côté empêche que les tentatives de réformes aient les résultats escomptés.

24. V. Holesovsky, *Economic systems: analysis and comparison*, page 200.

La notion de planification sous-entend une harmonie, qui se traduit par une correspondance parfaite entre les intérêts du centre planificateur, est les intérêts des agents périphériques. Le plan socialiste est de ce fait considéré comme l'instrument de convergence et de parfaite coordination, contrairement au marché, lié à un mode de régulation chaotique et inefficace, et source de gaspillages et de conflits. Or, l'introduction du plan était censée enrayer les disfonctionnements issus de la présence du marché. En outre, l'allocation centralisée des ressources productives suivant les objectifs du plan aurait permis l'expansion continue de la production qui serait en mesure d'équilibrer la demande effective avec l'offre du système.

La pratique de la planification en Union Soviétique montre que le plan est inapte à faire converger les intérêts individuels vers l'intérêt collectif émanant des aspirations du Parti. Cette divergence ne fait que prouver qu'une économie planifiée n'est plus harmonieusement coordonnée comme la théorie le prétendait, et par conséquent la gestion micro et macroéconomique se trouve affectée.

La gestion macroéconomique qui devrait normalement enrayer les erreurs commises par la gestion microéconomique n'est guère capable de fournir des solutions efficaces contre les phénomènes cumulatifs²⁵. Ainsi les carences du plan se situent aussi bien au niveau microéconomique, qu'au niveau macroéconomique, alimentant les forces d'inefficacité du système, inefficacité débouchant sur un déséquilibre planifié en dépit de l'équilibre fictif du plan. C'est ainsi par exemple que la hausse de productivité prévue par les planificateurs, n'est pas en grande partie réalisée, ou encore l'exécution des plans dans le domaine de l'investissement représente chaque année un énorme retard.

Par conséquent, le plan demeure un instrument peu performant, n'étant en mesure ni de procéder à une allocation efficace des ressources productives, ni de faire converger les intérêts individuels vers l'intérêt collectif malgré la disparition du marché.

1. Au niveau de la gestion microéconomique

La concrétisation des objectifs du Parti se réalisera par la construction des balances matières dont le but consiste à établir un équilibre entre les emplois et les ressources productives. Les objectifs ainsi agrégés s'acheminent vers les unités productives à travers les "chiffres de contrôle".

25. Un tel phénomène est la pénurie, traité dans notre thèse: M. Analytis, "La planification de la pénurie: essai sur la fonctionnement d'une économie centralement planifiée", Poitiers, Mars 1987.

L'unité productive doit alors comparer ces chiffres à son potentiel productif et ensuite construire une liste avec les inputs qu'elle va utiliser pendant l'année planifiée.

La proportion exacte de chaque input dans son output final est fournie par une série de normes spécifiées par les organes compétents.

La multiplication de l'output avec la norme de l'input procure à l'unité la quantité de l'input nécessaire dont elle aura besoin afin d'exécuter son plan de production.

Etant donné que la bureau de planification compile des plans dits tendus pour obtenir de la part des unités un effet mobilisateur, ces dernières répondent à ce défi en sollicitant davantage d'inputs.

En même temps, le planificateur connaissant ce comportement qui se traduit par la formation des stocks occultes, envoie aux unités des plans tendus visant à la diminution de ces stocks.

Or, l'inefficacité que le plan suscite, à ce niveau de gestion provient du fait que le centre planificateur essaie d'obtenir une maximisation de ses objectifs, pendant que les unités productives tendent à minimiser leurs tâches. Il en résulte une série d'ajustements et d'arbitrages dont les effets négatifs portent atteinte à la vie de l'entreprise. Signalons en outre que les unités productives sont tenues de préparer leurs commandes avant même d'avoir appris leurs plans de production. Par conséquent, leurs besoins sont définis à tâtons et avec une grande marge de réserve.

Les ajustements ultérieurs posent de sérieux problèmes et de ce fait les entreprises constituent leurs propres stocks de sécurité. Ce faisant, elles contribuent à l'intensification des tensions pénuriques, puisqu'elles soustraient de l'économie des ressources productives.

Les unités qui se voient privées de ces ressources risquent de ne pas exécuter leur plan de production et de perdre ainsi la bienveillance de leur organisme de tutelle²⁶.

Pour faire face au déficit des ressources, ces unités productives doivent chercher des solutions, puisque malgré tout elles sont tenues à exécuter leurs plans en dépit de la pénurie de ressources à laquelle elles sont soumises.

Très souvent, la réponse est fournie par l'économie non-officielle qui livre les unités en état de manque.

Il va sans dire que le produit de cette livraison hors plan n'est pas légal

26. Cette situation n'est pas imaginable dans le cas où les entreprises bénéficient de l'appui du Parti. Il s'agit des entreprises dites prioritaires, comme celles appartenant au secteur militaire.

au sens juridique du terme. Il s'agit des biens volés et extorqués à l'économie officielle, qui sont ensuite destinés aux formes de distribution illégale.

Force est de constater que la qualité des biens fournis par des réseaux non officiels est médiocre, situation qui compromet les aspects qualitatifs du Plan; bien que le déficit soit comblé de cette façon, les normes de qualité prévues par le Plan ne sont pas respectées. Ainsi le produit final des unités déficitaires sera défectueux avec des conséquences sur d'autres entreprises qui utiliseront ce produit. Il n'est pas rare que les entreprises à l'intérieur de leur structure montent des ateliers pour réparer cette production défectueuse. Ainsi une deuxième usine se constitue, de nature "cachée", qui fonctionne parallèlement à l'usine officielle.

Parfois les plans de production des unités périphériques sont modifiés à la hausse pendant leur exécution, sans qu'il y ait une allocation supplémentaire d'inputs. Une fois encore les unités concernées font appel aux réseaux illégaux qui les aident à trouver ce qui manque.

La désagrégation du plan engendre des phénomènes qui contredisent la logique officielle de la planification. Par conséquent, l'harmonisation entre les intérêts individuels et l'intérêt collectif n'est plus possible.

L'immobilisation des ressources productives sous forme de stock occultes, l'augmentation des tensions pénuriques à la périphérie de l'économie, la prolifération des résultats illégaux et la mauvaise qualité de la production fournie par les unités sont les résultats des carences du plan au niveau de la gestion microéconomique, carences qui facilitent la propagation de l'inefficacité.

2. Au niveau de la gestion macroéconomique

La gestion microéconomique telle qu'elle est pratiquée par les unités périphériques influence la gestion macroéconomique.

La correction des déséquilibres provoqués par les entreprises n'est plus efficace puisque l'information qui émane de la périphérie est erronée. Sur cette information, le planificateur doit se baser pour calculer un plan efficient. Etant donné qu'il s'agit d'une information imparfaite, le plan ainsi compilé ne sera pas en mesure d'enrayer les déséquilibres de la gestion microéconomique; bien au contraire, il les accentuera²⁷.

27. Si ces déséquilibres sont excessifs compromettant l'exécution du plan, il y aura l'introduction des priorités ex post.

Le choix d'un plan tendu est le résultat d'un mauvais dialogue entre le centre et la périphérie du système. Ce choix dans un environnement où les ressources productives sont pleinement utilisées ne peut qu'affecter l'investissement.

C'est ainsi qu'apparaissent les rendements décroissants sous forme de chantiers inachevés, dispersion des investissements, et allongement de la durée de la construction des nouvelles usines.

Il est bien évident que le sur-échauffement que l'exécution du plan tendu provoque, doit être maîtrisé. Ceci est réalisé par l'introduction des priorités qui divisent les unités productives. En règle générale, les unités prioritaires répondent mieux aux objectifs planifiés par rapport aux unités non prioritaires.

N'empêche que la gestion par les priorités peut affecter les unités prioritaires. Même si l'unité est considérée comme telle, il y aura des goulots d'étranglement à caractère cumulatif, puisque cette unité entre en contact avec des unités non prioritaires qui se voient réduire l'allocation d'inputs. Par conséquent, le choix d'un plan tendu conduit à la diversification des unités productives, diversification qui tend à pallier une série de déséquilibres que le plan, en termes agrégés, n'est pas apte à signaler.

Le choix d'un plan tendu s'explique par les faits suivants :

Il y a sans doute une tendance au surinvestissement qui s'est forgée tout au long de l'installation du régime socialiste soviétique. A cet égard, les remarques de Boukharine portant sur le gaspillage des ressources, du fait d'un sur-investissement, en portent la preuve : même aujourd'hui l'économie soviétique souffre de ce mal structurel qui empêche la rationalisation de la base productive de son économie.

Or, derrière le plan dit tendu se dissimule la tendance au surinvestissement, inhérent au mode de développement de l'Union Soviétique.

Outre cette raison, la tension du plan constitue un outil efficace aux mains du planificateur qui l'utilise en vue de mobiliser les réserves cachées des unités.

Ainsi le plan tendu peut avoir simultanément aussi bien des effets négatifs que des effets positifs, mais pour une relativement courte période. A long terme, les effets négatifs l'emporteront, affectant le dynamisme de l'économie.

Signalons que la tension est constamment approvisionnée par le comportement expansionniste des organes de tutelle qui plaident pour davantage de ressources productives.

La conclusion que l'on peut tirer de l'analyse que nous avons exposée est la suivante : le plan socialiste n'est pas en mesure d'harmoniser la gestion micro et macroéconomique. Des carences apparaissent sur ces deux niveaux

de gestion, faisant propager l'inefficacité sous sa forme socialiste.

Par conséquent, l'éventuelle dynamisation de l'économie soviétique doit nécessairement passer par des mesures qui toucheront aux fondements même de la gestion économique par le plan.

Jusqu'à aujourd'hui, les mesures prises ne les ont pas modifiés. Les déséquilibres entre l'offre et la demande se traduisant par la formation des files d'attente et par la distribution des biens de consommation avec des coupons prouvent la timidité des réformes entreprises.

Une éventuelle crise économique semblable à celle de la Pologne des années 1980, pourrait s'avérer cruciale pour la continuité de la politique de restructuration, qui semble traverser une période extrêmement difficile.

III. LES RÉSULTATS DE LA NOUVELLE GESTION SOVIÉTIQUE

Il est vrai que la politique de restructuration entreprise depuis 1985 en Union Soviétique est mieux accueillie par les Occidentaux, que par les citoyens soviétiques eux-mêmes.

En Europe de l'Ouest, Gorbatchev est très souvent ovationné, en même temps qu'à l'intérieur du pays il est considéré comme étant le responsable de la baisse du niveau de vie de la population, baisse qui est devenue perceptible par l'apparition des pénuries qui n'ont jamais existé pendant le règne de Brejnev. Quelques observateurs considèrent en outre que leur ampleur rappelle les périodes de guerre.

Dans un climat économique défavorable aggravé par un taux d'inflation qui selon les estimations des économistes soviétiques indépendants, varie de 8 à 12%, il n'est pas étonnant que les grèves de mineurs aient éclaté pendant l'été.

Les effets directs de ces grèves ne se sont pas faits sentir, puisque pendant cette période de l'année, la demande d'énergie reste assez basse. Il n'en reste pas moins que le taux de croissance de l'économie soviétique a chuté de moitié en un an, ce qui se traduit par une baisse de l'ordre de 2,4% pendant les neuf mois de l'année, tandis que pour la même période en 1988, ce taux était de 4,7%.

Cette baisse spectaculaire a affecté en premier lieu le secteur produisant des produits de consommation dont l'acheminement suscite de sérieux obstacles, dus à la désorganisation des transports. Hormis les produits alimentaires qui font largement défaut, des articles comme les chaussures d'hiver et les couvertures deviennent des produits rares et par conséquent de longues files d'attente se forment.

Or, l'amélioration du niveau de vie, objectif prioritaire de la politique de restructuration n'a pas été atteint.

Selon les estimations de la C.I.A., la consommation par tête avait baissé en 1986 de 1,5%, tandis qu'elle a sensiblement augmenté en 1987 et en 1988. Malgré l'augmentation des salaires, il n'y a pas eu d'augmentation équivalente de la productivité, ce qui se traduit par une augmentation des pressions inflationnistes, alimentées aussi par une demande effective excédentaire (l'offre se trouvant constamment en retard).

Remarquons que pendant les six premiers mois, l'augmentation moyenne des salaires était de 10%, tandis que la productivité n'avait augmenté que de 2,7%²⁸: fait alarmant pour l'économie soviétique, qui prouve que le consommateur se trouve dans le désarroi, n'étant pas en mesure de dépenser son revenu en vue d'acquérir des biens de consommation. D'après des sources officielles, les consommateurs dépensent un cinquième de leur revenu, et le reste se trouve soit stérilisé dans les caisses d'épargne, soit absorbé par l'augmentation des prix cachée ou déclarée. Trois cent milliards de roubles sont placés dans les banques soviétiques sous forme d'épargne forcée. De surcroît, les Soviétiques détiennent chez eux quatre vingt dix milliards de roubles.

Il n'est pas étonnant alors que pendant les neuf derniers mois, la vitesse de la circulation de la monnaie se soit accrue de 17,3%, en même temps que la production ait augmenté de 2,2% et les salaires de 10%.

L'Union Soviétique pour les trois prochaines années a besoin de 30 milliards de dollars malgré la dette extérieure du pays qui s'élève à 40 milliards de dollars; sinon la crise et le chaos s'ensuivront d'après une déclaration solennelle de l'économiste soviétique Smelev, lors de la visite de Gorbatchev à Paris. "Je sois très sceptique, dit-il; si nous survivons pendant cette période, nous aurons gagné"²⁹.

Cette déclaration rejoint la position pessimiste du professeur Tikhonov, spécialiste des problèmes agricoles.

Il fait remarquer que si des mesures radicales ne sont pas prises dans l'agriculture³⁰, l'URSS prochainement devra faire face à une disette, puisqu'il n'y aura pas de devises pour importer des produits de l'étranger, et soutenir ainsi le processus de restructuration.

28. Journal économique grec *Εξπρές*, du 30.7.1989.

29. Journal grec *Η Καθημερινή* [Le quotidien], du 4.7.1989.

30. Il ne serait pas exagéré de remarquer que la perestroïka ne réussira guère, tant qu'il n'y aura pas de mesures pour améliorer les rendements du secteur agricole, qui demeure imperméable aux tentatives de restructuration.

En effet, quand le baril de pétrole valait à l'époque 30 dollars, les recettes de la vente des produits pétroliers étaient de l'ordre de 180 milliards de dollars. Pendant la même période, l'exportation de ces produits représentait 40% des exportations totales du pays. Suite à la baisse des cours mondiaux du pétrole (contre-choc pétrolier), l'URSS s'est vue tarir une source des devises importante pour financer ses importations.

C'est pour cette raison qu'en 1986, les importations étaient de l'ordre de 62,6 milliards de roubles, en 1987 60,8 milliards de roubles, et en 1988 une hausse de 65 milliards de roubles a été enregistrée, sans toutefois atteindre le niveau de 1985 (69,1 milliards de roubles).

La situation économique devient encore plus difficile à gérer si l'on s'en tient à l'endettement du pays qui s'est doublé en cinq ans. De 20,8 milliards de dollars, il est passé à 40,0 milliards de dollars. Les efforts que Gorbatchev a entrepris depuis 1984 ne se sont pas avérés fructueux. Il est bien évident qu'il n'a pas pu stabiliser l'économie soviétique, qui continue à souffrir de ses maux héréditaires.

Actuellement, le danger de l'arrêt de la politique de restructuration provient, nous semble-t-il, non pas des facteurs politiques, mais plutôt des mauvais résultats en matière économique.

Si le système n'est pas apte à fournir aux consommateurs un marché suffisamment bien approvisionné, le processus de restructuration s'estompera, et il tombera en désuétude. A ce moment, un retour en arrière est toujours envisageable.

Il ressort d'un dernier sondage effectué en Union Soviétique que les citoyens sont très pessimistes quant à la poursuite de la perestroïka³¹. 90% des personnes interrogées considèrent que l'état actuel de l'économie est critique, et ils croient qu'il n'y aura pas d'améliorations spectaculaires pour les 10 prochaines années. Le malaise profond de l'économie du pays, comme celui-ci s'esquisse dans le sondage, témoigne des difficultés que la restructuration rencontre actuellement. Nous pensons que, prioritairement, le système doit essayer de satisfaire le consommateur, de sorte que celui-ci, puisse exercer sa "dictature", expression très significative d'Aganbeguian, défenseur inconditionnel de l'introduction des mécanismes du marché³².

Personne parmi les économistes réformateurs ne nie le fait que l'introduction du marché ne s'effectuera pas sans difficultés et sans frictions. Il y aura cer-

31. Journal économique grec *Εμπρός*, du 19.11.1989.

32. Entretien avec le journal grec *Καθημερινή* lors de sa visite en Grèce pour assister au colloque de "International Economic Association" tenu à Athènes le 28.8.1989-1.9.1989.

tainement un coût élevé mais très probablement l'économie deviendra plus efficace. Reste à savoir si le citoyen soviétique acceptera de sacrifier une série de garanties que le système socialiste lui offre en échange d'un approvisionnement continu sans ruptures, et sans atteinte. L'Union Soviétique s'est toujours vantée de donner aux travailleurs une sécurité totale de l'emploi. En même temps, la politique de restructuration économique demande la fermeture des entreprises inefficaces, et on parle de supprimer 16 millions d'emplois d'ici l'an 2000.

A court terme, le système doit impérativement satisfaire le consommateur frustré, qui se comporte comme s'il était confronté à une économie en état de guerre; pénuries, marché noir, et dépréciation du rouble. En dépit de l'endettement du pays, l'importation des biens de consommation constitue une solution pour soutenir la participation du facteur humain à la restructuration.

A partir du moment où les files d'attente s'allongent devant les magasins vides, le pouvoir en place peut jouer la carte de l'endettement d'autant plus facilement que les réserves d'or soviétique s'élèvent selon certaines estimations à 28 milliards de dollars, sans compter les placements soviétiques dans les banques occidentales, qui sont de l'ordre de 15 milliards de dollars.

L'importation des produits de consommation pourrait avoir des effets directs sur l'inflation en réduisant l'argent disponible que les Soviétiques détiennent. Il y aurait en outre une augmentation des recettes de l'Etat, réduisant ainsi le déficit budgétaire qui selon certaines estimations, atteindrait 13% du P.I.B. Face à un tel déficit, la "planche à billets" se met à fonctionner, phénomène qui a ses répercussions sur l'offre de monnaie alimentant l'inflation renforcé par la demande excédentaire. La nouvelle gestion soviétique n'a pas été en mesure de porter atteinte à l'ensemble des relations qui s'établissent entre: demande insatisfaite-déficit budgétaire-crédit monétaire. Au contraire, elle en a renforcé les liens, situation qui a amplifié les déséquilibres au sein de l'économie.

Si à court terme, le mécontentement des consommateurs peut être maîtrisé par l'importation des biens de consommation à long terme, ceci n'est pas une solution viable. La satisfaction des consommateurs doit provenir des forces internes de l'économie soviétique; autrement dit par un changement d'orientation de ses fin productives, et par une modification radicale de son mode de gestion, sans oublier le comportement des agents économiques.

Si les objectifs de la restructuration se réalisent dans l'espace de 5 à 7 ans, suivant l'hypothèse de l'économiste Abalkine, il n'y aura plus de pénuries et le système fonctionnera mieux. Pour y parvenir, un programme de longue haleine doit être appliqué, programme dont Abalkine a esquissé les lignes

directrices, lors d'un congrès tenu à Moscou le mois de novembre 1989; l'avenir de la perestroïka était à l'ordre du jour ainsi que la dynamisation de l'économie du pays, par la mise en place des réformes qui vont s'étaler sur cinq ans. Ce qui ressort de ce programme, c'est qu'au fur et à mesure, l'économie doit s'orienter vers l'introduction des mécanismes du marché et vers la libéralisation de l'emprise du plan.

De 1985 jusqu'à aujourd'hui la nouvelle gestion soviétique n'a pas pu souffler à l'économie l'énergie nécessaire pour faire face à l'ornière. Par contre, pendant cette période, l'image du pays à l'étranger s'est considérablement améliorée, grâce aux efforts opiniâtres de Gorbatchev lui-même. Actuellement, l'économie soviétique semble traverser une crise, qui n'est pas prête à être endiguée si des mesures radicales ne sont pas prises.

L'Europe de l'Ouest peut soutenir la politique de restructuration, et aider ainsi Gorbatchev. Simultanément, cette aide doit être accompagnée d'un assainissement de l'économie, qui reste l'objectif primordial.

Tout dépendra de l'application du "plan Abalikhine" qui semble fournir une réponse réaliste aux maux de l'économie soviétique, mais qui rejoint de plus en plus les principes de gestion d'une économie de type occidental. Qui l'emportera à la fin? L'idéologie ou le réalisme? La réponse à cette question demeure incertaine.

En guise de conclusion, risquons une prévision: la nouvelle année 1990 s'annonce extrêmement difficile pour l'économie de l'URSS qui semble être paralysée après quatre ans de perestroïka. Le plan Abalkine "se présente comme la systématisation de la politique de restructuration, qui auparavant n'avait pas d'objectifs bien déterminés.

Nous pensons que les réformes inscrites dans ce plan constituent un pas en avant dans la poursuite de la perestroïka, et sont la seule alternative sérieuse à l'impasse actuelle de la nouvelle gestion soviétique.

IV. RÉSUMÉ

Depuis la mise en place de la politique de la restructuration en URSS, rien ne laisse supposer que ses objectifs initialement esquissés ont été atteints quatre ans après. Au-delà de la personnalité de Gorbatchev, une série de contraintes inhérentes au système empêche la dynamisation de l'économie soviétique.

Dans le présent article, nous essayons une approche de la nouvelle gestion, à travers une présentation des problèmes chroniques de son économie, problèmes dont la persistance restreint les possibilités de voir le pays effectuer un passage réussi à une économie orientée vers la satisfaction du consommateur.

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C. Journaux

Ἐξπρές

Καθημερινή

Review Essays

ΠΑΝ. Κ. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΥ, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος - Ἀθωνικὴ Πολιτεία - Ἱστορία, Τέχνη, Ζωή* (Le Mont Athos; La cité athonite, Histoire, Art, Vie), Institut d'Etudes Patristiques de Thessalonique—Éditions Epoptheia, Athènes, 1987, pp. 490+167 illustrations.

Le Mont Athos, ce lieu magnifique et béni de sainteté, n'est pas un lieu intéressant seulement pour les pèlerins, qui laissent promener leur pensée à l'époque byzantine, mais aussi pour les philologues, les théologiens, les juristes, les architectes; l'attitude de ces derniers est significative, puisqu'ils trouvent toujours ici des sujets utiles pour leurs recherches. Le voyageur distingué d'aujourd'hui ne manquera pas de visiter les monuments athonites qui lui proposent une descente aux enfers de la mémoire culturelle d'autrefois, lui donnent une idée de la tradition chrétienne et, enfin, un décor de la vie quotidienne. Au Mont Athos n'a pas eu lieu l'effacement des valeurs religieuses qui est un signe de notre temps, les églises ne sont pas devenues des musées, comme en Italie après la Renaissance, et les églises restent encore un lieu de prière et de recueillement. A juste titre, donc, une série d'études concernant le M. Athos vit le jour par le passé et récemment une nouvelle œuvre vint s'y ajouter; il s'agit de la monographie rédigée par le bien connu professeur Panagiotis K. Christou et sortie des presses de la revue *Ἐποπτεία*. A mon avis cette étude est la plus complète sur l'histoire du M. Athos; volumineuse, elle s'impose au lecteur par son contenu touchant l'Histoire, l'Art et la vie de cette cité monastique et attire du coup son attention. Le premier chapitre du livre est divisé en deux parties: la première en étudie la place géographique et la deuxième la préhistoire du M. Athos. Tout d'abord le lecteur doit connaître les lieux et l'auteur l'y conduit méthodiquement en lui expliquant les particularités de chaque monastère. Suit le chapitre sur la préhistoire de la Sainte Montagne, où l'auteur explique le passé mythique du Mont Athos qui remonte au VI^{ème} siècle. Dans le second chapitre, intitulé *Le début du monachisme à l'Athos*, M. Christou indique que la première présence des moines au Mont Athos remonte au IX^{ème} siècle déjà, comme une conséquence de la volonté humaine de favoriser le salut de l'âme et la rencontre avec Dieu. En tout cas, affirme l'auteur, avant le IX^{ème} siècle dans la région

de la péninsule athonite se trouvaient de petites villes désertées à cause de l'apparition de la menace arabe ainsi que de l'hostilité des empereurs byzantins à l'égard des icones et des moines. Néanmoins, et alors que commençaient à disparaître les villes du littoral, à l'intérieur de la Péninsule apparaissaient les premiers foyers monastiques. La contribution de Pierre l'Athonite et de Euthyme le Jeune à l'expansion de la vie monastique fut importante. Ainsi, au début du IX^{ème} siècle on trouve au Mont Athos un centre spirituel avancé; la participation, d'ailleurs, des athonites aux travaux du concile de 843, convoqué par l'impératrice Théodora au sujet du rétablissement des icones, prouve l'importance de ce centre monastique. La fondation de skytes et de cellules et l'arrivée des moines furent à l'origine des édits des années 883 et 908, qui réglèrent l'organisation et définirent la physionomie spirituelle de la vie athonite. Ces mêmes édits stimulèrent également la vie économique au M. Athos. Une fois réglée la vie monastique, les ascètes formèrent vers 940 les diverses *lávras*, comme celle de Lavra de Caryès; ce fait eut comme conséquence le déplacement des moines vers l'intérieur de la Sainte Montagne. Ainsi, se forma la *Μέση Λαύρα*, nommée ainsi pour la distinguer des autres; là, à la *Μέση Λαύρα*, au centre de la Péninsule, s'installa *ὁ Πρώτος*, à savoir l'Inspecteur Général ou le *Premier parmi les moines*. L'installation du Premier à *Μέση Λαύρα* donna son nom au *Protaton*, c'est-à-dire au lieu, où s'installe le *Premier*; cet endroit devint plus tard Caryès, place et nom qui subsistent aujourd'hui. Le Premier dirige d'ici la vie des autres monastères. Notons que petit-à-petit le *Protaton* perdit sa puissance, puisque ont apparus d'autres grands et petits monastères et des grandes cellules.

Le troisième chapitre du livre du Prof. Christou est dédié aux *Temps Byzantins*; il y examine, surtout, la période allant du X^{ème} siècle au XV^{ème} s., c'est-à-dire l'époque la plus brillante de la cité athonite due au grand essor du monachisme athonite, à la fondation de grands et petits monastères et de nombreuses cellules. Le Prof. P. Christou dresse ici un catalogue des monastères apparus durant cette période de cinq cents ans, catalogue établi d'après les documents byzantins (v. pp. 56-57). Il est intéressant de noter les observations de l'auteur concernant la population monastique de cette période; ainsi en l'an 1045 3.000 moines s'y trouvaient; durant la première moitié du XIV^{ème} s. 4.000; en 1387, c'est-à-dire à l'époque du début de la première occupation turque 3.000, nombre qui diminua sensiblement après l'occupation définitive du Mont Athos par les Turcs (1424-1912). Ensuite Mr. Christou passe à l'étude détaillée de l'histoire des plus grands monastères de la Ste Montagne, à savoir Megisti Lavra, Monastère Xiropotamou, Vatopedi etc., toujours sous l'angle de l'apparition de la vie monastique jusqu'à la fin de l'empire byzantin.

Le chapitre suivant parle de la présence des étrangers au M. Athos comme des Ibères, qui fondèrent leur monastère en 980, des Italiens (Amalfi etc.), des Bulgares, des Russes, des Serbes, tous orthodoxes. L'auteur note que les moines slaves utilisèrent le grec dans leur culte, puisque ils n'avaient l'expérience monastique et que le fondement culturel, qu'ils retinrent, jusque presque au début du XXème s., fut grec. Au contraire, les Ibères et les Italiens avaient une autonomie spirituelle, liée, en tout cas, toujours à la culture gréco-orthodoxe. Un autre chapitre du livre s'occupe de l'administration et de l'organisation, et surtout de la *puissance politique*, des aptitudes du *Premier* (Πρωτος) de la *Séance des dirigeants*, des *fondations* et de l'ἄββατος du M. Athos. Le Prof. P. Christou examine également les antagonismes internationaux, c'est-à-dire les tentatives d'influence des diverses nations (slaves ou occidentales) sur sa vie politique et religieuse. La période des Paléologues (1242-1341) fut pour le Mont Athos, celle des désastres et des péripéties; à cette époque, en effet, apparaît le schisme des Arseniades, est signé l'ambigu concile de Lyon, la guerre civile entre Paléologues et Cantacuzènes fait rage. Cette même période, pourtant, a été marquée par une efflorescence intellectuelle. A part la vie culturelle, le Mont Athos présente pendant l'époque Paléologue, une série d'événements qui précisèrent son image spirituelle, comme sa réaction contre l'union des deux églises en 1274; le chrysobulle d'Andronique II en 1312, plaçant le Mont Athos sous la juridiction du Patriarcat Oecuménique; notons qu'auparavant le Mont Athos ne dépendait pas des autorités ecclésiastiques. La période de la guerre civile, la révolution des Zélotes de Thessalonique, la période de l'occupation serbe eurent leurs conséquences sur la vie du Mont Athos. En 1368, le Mont Athos, toujours sous le patronage spirituel du Patriarcat Oecuménique, fut nommé, par un acte du Patriarche Oecuménique Philothéos, province de l'évêché d'Iérissos. Le sigille de 1368 interdit l'accueil des clercs ordonnés par les Serbes, considérés à cette époque là comme schismatiques. La pénétration continue des Turcs dans la Péninsule Balkanique rend dramatique la dernière période des Paléologues (1346-1402) et le M. Athos subit ses conséquences. Le sigille du Patriarche Antonios rendit au Mont Athos son ancien régime, c'est-à-dire la surveillance spirituelle du Patriarcat Oecuménique, annulant ainsi le sigille de Philothéos, qui comme on l'a dit, réunissait l'Athos à l'évêché d'Iérissos en Chalcidique. Le Patriarche Antonios voulait ainsi le protéger de la menace slave; cependant, ce même sigille provoqua des discussions, dont la conséquence fut le *Τυπικόν* d'Antonios (1393), qui régla l'administration des monastères athoniques, l'élection et les devoirs du Protos, l'élection des higoumènes; ainsi que les diverses obligations des monastères. Le chrysobulle de

l'année 1406, intitulé *Τυπικὸν* et *ὑποτύπωσις* de Manouïl Paléologue favorisa, d'une part, l'accroissement de la vie monastique et, d'autre part, la présence impériale au Mont Athos. Le même *Τυπικὸν* freina l'extension au Mont Athos du régime de l'idiorrythmie, favorisé, d'ailleurs, par le mouvement des hésychastes et, enfin, contribua au développement des monastères étrangers et à l'organisation démographique des monastères, et des métochions.

La fondation des monastères des Rochers, à savoir de S. Paul, Simonopetra, Pantocrator, Dionysiou, Grigoriou, dont l'auteur cite brièvement l'histoire, a eu lieu après la première moitié du XIV^e siècle. A la même période dramatique est apparu à Mont Athos le mouvement hésychaste avec son chef Grégoire Palamas et son adversaire Varlaâm de Calabrie; on observe, encore, le rayonnement continue de l'Athos sur les peuples du nord (bulgares, russes, serbes, valaques).—L'occupation turque (ci. 1423-4) fut un fait tragique pour le Mont Athos; les Turcs occupaient un pays qui ne leur était pas inconnu, car ils avaient servi jusqu'alors les Byzantins comme mercenaires. A partir de 1453 la situation au Mont Athos s'aggravait, surtout à cause des nombreuses taxes que les occupants imposèrent aux monastères, comme le *haraç*, *mouvazzaf*, *haraç mukasame* en faveur des *agas* (gouverneurs locaux) et, en particulier, en faveur du *vali* (préfet) de Thessalonique. La piraterie ajouta d'autres charges à la vie monastique. Cependant, ce lieu saint de l'Orthodoxie réussit à survivre grâce à l'intérêt du Patriarcat Oecuménique, l'aide financière et morale des hospodars byzantinoroumains des pays danubiens et des Phanariotes. Cependant, la foi du peuple orthodoxe et sa dévotion aux principes et à la tradition athonite furent les facteurs primordiaux de cette survivance. La situation défavorable pour les affaires athonites imposa quelques changements concernant son administration interne, son système administratif collectif, la dignité du *Protos*, le rôle de *Σύναξις*; un fait, parmi d'autres, conséquence des ces changements, fut le rétablissement des anciens ordres. Les difficiles et misérables conditions imposées par l'occupant turc, eurent comme conséquence la décadence et la diminution de la population monastique athonite; pourtant, une seule fois, l'année 1808, les athonites atteignirent le chiffre de 2.395.

L'occupation turque favorisa le système d'*idiorrythmie* (monastères, où les moines ne vivent pas en commun); après 1784 commença l'apparition du système *cenobitique*, c'est-à dire des monastères, où les moines vivent en commun.

L'auteur consacre le chapitre qui suit au rayonnement spirituel du Mont Athos, à savoir la présence et l'activité de divers lettrés comme Pachomios Roussanos, Agapios Landos, Ierothéos Iviritis, César Dapontès. L'auteur

analyse ici le rôle de la fameuse Académie Athonite, où ils enseignèrent et où Eugénios Voulgaris, Nicolaos Tzerzoulis, Serge Makraios, Athanasios Parios, firent leurs études. L'auteur s'intéressa dans ce même chapitre aux *Κολλυβάδες*, militants d'un mouvement spirituel à l'Athos, qui voulait la rénovation de la vie monastique d'après les anciens principes du monachisme; les chefs de ce mouvement furent Athanassios Parios, Macaire Notaràs, Nicodème Aghiorite. La vie spirituelle de Mont Athos exerça une influence notable sur les peuples slaves pendant cette époque de l'occupation turque. Le Prof. P. Christou cite, entre autres, l'exemple du monastère Chilandarion qui, à travers les siècles, devint le lieu d'accueil des manuscrits de l'ancienne littérature serbe; notons que le chef spirituel du peuple bulgare Païsios Chilandarinos (1720 ci.-1770) y vécut. Dans le même cadre la vie culturelle et nationale roumaine doit beaucoup au Mont Athos, puisque les moines athonites aidèrent les Roumains, d'une part, à résister à l'invasion religieuse et spirituelle du Slavisme et, d'autre part, à ordonner leur culte et leur administration ecclésiastique. Vers la Russie le rayonnement d'Athos fut tout à fait important à travers tous les siècles jusqu'à notre époque. La personnalité éclatante de Maxime le Grec et sa contribution à la naissance de la vie culturelle russe constitue un exemple significatif; n'oublions pas, aussi, les cas d'un Basilios Barsky et d'un Païsios Velitchkovsky (1722-1794). Durant la Turcocratie divers hétérodoxes vinrent au M. Athos; certains pour suivre la vie monastique, d'autres pour collecter des fonds et d'autre encore pour y propager le dogme catholique-romain; tel était, par exemple, le cas de certains élèves du Collège Papal de Rome, dont l'activité causa une série de problèmes à la vie monastique.

Dans le chapitre *De la Révolution jusqu'à la Libération* le Prof. Christou étudie la situation au Mont Athos à la veille de la Révolution et note la présence des *cleftes* révolutionnaires luttant contre la tyrannie turque, dont un certain Vergos fut le plus renommé. Ce contact des moines avec les *cleftes* eut comme conséquence leur entrée dans la *Philiki Hetaireia* (c'est-à-dire la Société Secrète des Grecs), qui prépara la Révolution Hellénique de 1821 et ensuite leur participation à cette même révolution; cette participation causa la haine des Turcs qui dévastèrent le Mont Athos. Heureusement, dix années après, avec la Libération, le 13 avril 1830, les moines survivants revinrent dans leurs monastères entreprenant la Restauration de ceux-ci. Les aventures du Mont Athos ne cessèrent pas pour autant, car vers le début de la seconde moitié du XIX^{ème} s., apparurent les mouvements nationalistes des pays balkaniques, à un moment où l'autorité turque disparaissait. Notons que l'occupation turque se poursuivit jusqu'à 1912/3, mais, de plus en plus faible.

La cité athonite passa, petit-à-petit, à un état florissant, qui fut troublé par la question de l'autorité spirituelle patriarcale sur le Mont Athos, que les Athonites refusèrent sur certains points; telle fut l'époque des années 1860-1878, lorsque le Patriarche Joachim II intervenait souvent dans les affaires intérieures du Mont Athos. Les rapports du Patriarcat et du Mont Athos furent rétablis, en quelque sorte, à cette époque-là (1878). Finalement, ces rapports délicats, entre le Patriarcat et les hagiotes, furent arrangés par les Règlements Généraux du Mont Athos.

Entre temps, les monastères athonites reprirent leur vie quotidienne après la formation de l'Etat Hellénique (1830), malgré le petit nombre de moines qui, vers 1824, s'élevait à 500 et vers 1846 à 1557. Pourtant, dans les décennies qui suivirent, le nombre des moines diminua à nouveau. Ce fut, cette fois-ci, la sécularisation des biens athonites situés dans les pays danubiens et en Russie, qui causa des problèmes financiers à l'Athos. Cependant, en même temps, recommença l'efflorescence de la vie culturelle au Mont Athos et une génération de moines lettrés apparut (tels que Bartholomaios Koutloumousianos, Alexandros Lavriotis, Gerassimos Smýrnakis etc.). L'apparition du mouvement du panslavisme, de l'exarchie bulgare, de la propagande roumaine, du phénomène des antagonismes nationaux causèrent de nouveaux problèmes dans la vie monastique. Le Prof. P. Christou a ici l'occasion de discuter de l'intérêt russe pour le Mont Athos, apparu, d'ailleurs, dès l'époque de Velitchkovsky, et jusqu'en 1913. Il est intéressant de noter que, comme l'auteur nous le rappelle, le nombre des moines russes, selon le recensement de 1910, s'élevait à 4.800 contre 3.900 moines grecs.

Le huitième chapitre du livre du Prof. P. Christou est consacré à l'époque contemporaine et étudie les conditions de la libération du Mont Athos (2 nov. 1912), ainsi que les prétentions russes sur l'Athos, présentées à l'occasion de la Conférence de Londres (12 mai 1913), qui mettaient en péril le régime traditionnel du M. Athos; heureusement, la vive réaction des athonites, d'une part, persuada la Conférence de maintenir l'ancien régime et la Révolution en Russie, d'autre part, ne permit pas l'exécution des plans russes. La rédaction de la Charte constitutionnelle du Mont Athos en 1926 et la Constitution de l'Etat Hellénique de 1927, articles 104-112, ainsi que la Constitution de 1975 réglèrent, définitivement, la position du Mont Athos dans l'ensemble de l'Etat Hellénique. A partir donc de 1926 le Mont Athos est une personne morale de droit public, en gardant sa propre autonomie, du point de vue législatif, exécutif, juridique, où l'Etat hellénique maintient la surveillance. Pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale les nazis respectèrent, en quelque sorte, la sainteté de l'Athos. Pendant la guerre civile en Grèce (1946-1950) les partisans

communistes grecs ne sont parvenus à changer son statut juridique. En 1969 le régime militaire grec essaya, aussi sans succès, de contrôler la vie financière athonite.

L'Etat Hellénique subventionne le Mont Athos qui, après les premières décennies de notre siècle améliora son état financier; le nombre des moines augmenta sensiblement et l'intérêt des visiteurs a fait du Mont Athos un nouveau centre culturel; des visiteurs grecs (et étrangers également) y viennent pour voir les trésors des monastères et y révéler les saintes reliques. Parallèlement, les chercheurs commencèrent à étudier systématiquement les archives et les bibliothèques du Mont Athos; la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université Aristote et l'Institut d'Etudes Patristiques du Patriarcat Oecuménique (Thessalonique) organisèrent des programmes de recherche sur les manuscrits et autres richesses spirituelles du Mont Athos. L'intérêt porté par le Patriarcat Oecuménique aux affaires athonites continua à être vif; par ailleurs, les pères d'Athos ne se réjouirent guère des initiatives du Patriarche Athénagoras et du dialogue avec les Catholiques-Romains. L'évènement marquant de l'histoire moderne du M. Athos fut la célébration de son millénaire en 1963. Il faut encore noter, cite le Prof. P. Christou, que les lettrés hagiotes comme Arkadios Vatopédinos, le médecin Sp. Kampanios Lavriotis, Evl. Kourilas, Pandéleimon Lavriotis, Gérassimos Mikragiannanitis, continuaient l'ancienne tradition culturelle du Mont Athos à une époque récente.

Le chapitre *l'Organisation et la vie des athonites* s'occupe de la position du Gouverneur politique dans la vie des moines, du pouvoir des juges, du fonctionnement des monastères aujourd'hui, des dépendances, des cabanes, des skytes idiorrhythmiques, des cellules, des skytes cénobitiques. Le chapitre sur la vie quotidienne des moines, leur culte, leur travail et leur hospitalité constitue l'un des plus intéressants chapitres du livre de Mr. Christou. Le chapitre sur l'image des monastères actuels décrit l'état actuel du Mont Athos, tandis que le onzième chapitre, consacré à l'art au Mont Athos, s'occupe de l'architecture, des maisons traditionnelles avec les cours, les tours, les bâtiments; l'auteur présente dans ce même chapitre les mosaïques et les fresques. Dans ce chapitre, l'auteur met l'accent sur l'unité, qui caractérise la vie athonite à partir de la période byzantine jusqu'au XVIIIe s.—Quelques sous-chapitres de ce onzième chapitre parlent des fresques, des reliques, de la Peinture Macédonienne, des fresques du Protaton, de Vatopédi et de Chilandari, des fragments des fresques de l'Epoque des Paléologues, de l'École Crétoise de Peinture, des grands maîtres du XVIe s., des icones, des iconostases, de la sculpture, de l'orfèvrerie etc. Les archives et les bibliothèques athonites sont le sujet du douzième chapitre du livre du Prof. Christou, où il repertorie les

recherches faites à l'époque moderne dans ce domaine. Le douzième chapitre traite, également, des bibliothèques spéciales, des codes, des copistes, des manuscrits enluminés et des miniatures, qui constituent une partie des trésors athonites.

Ce livre, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, est, à notre avis, l'étude la plus complète sur l'histoire du Mont Athos, puisque il s'agit d'une des meilleures analyses et des meilleures synthèses, à la fois érudite et de lecture aisée, touchant un lieu et une période-clés de l'histoire hellénique.

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ATHANASSIOS E. KARATHANASSIS

ATHANASSIOS CHRISTOU

Jens Reuter, *Die Albaner in Jugoslawien, Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartskunde Südosteuropas*, München 1982, S. 140.

Im letzten Absatz seiner Einführung zum Buch: "Die Albaner in Jugoslawien" gibt Jens Reuter die Zielsetzung seiner sehr interessanten Studie treffend wieder. Die zwei Achsen auf denen die Niederschrift seines Werkes basiert sind erstens die historische Entstehung der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Albanern und Jugoslawen im Kosovo, und zweitens die aktuellen Folgen dieses Bruchs, bis zum Ende des Jahres 1981.

Ausgangspunkt dieser Studie sind also die Aufstände der Albaner im April des Jahres 1981 im Kosovo. Aufstände und Proteste, die—mit allerdings unterschiedlicher Intensität—leider bis zum heutigen Tage noch andauern, und die mit ihrer radikalen Zeichensetzung das Gleichgewichtsverhältnis in der jugoslawischen Föderation einer schweren Prüfung unterziehen.

Es ist sicherlich der Mühe wert, einige der Parolen dieser Mobilisierung zu erwähnen, wie: "Wir sind Albaner und keine Jugoslawen" oder "Wir wollen eine Republik Kosovo", um einerseits die Entschlossenheit und die Kraft der historischen Forderungen der Albaner und andererseits den Eigensinn und die Unnachgiebigkeit der serbischen Reaktion zu begreifen.

Dieser nationale Konflikt gewinnt heute eine noch größere Bedeutung, da das Problem der ethnischen Gruppen überall auf der Welt eine bisher unbekannte Zuspitzung erreicht hat und die vorgeschlagenen Lösungen, besonders nach der Annäherung des Ostens an den Westen, sehr radikal sind.

Zwei weitere Gründe sind es, die die besondere Problematik der albanischen Minderheit in Jugoslawien verstärken und die eine direkte Beziehung zum griechischen politischen Geschehen in der Region haben. Der erste Grund ist, daß viele Albaner, außer in der Provinz Kosovo, auch in der jugoslawischen Republik Makedoniens leben, was zur Folge hat, daß das Bevölkerungsgleichgewicht in dieser Republik zu Ungunsten der Slavo-Makedonen ist; eine Tatsache, die die griechische Haltung in der Makedonischen Frage bestärkt. Der zweite Grund ist, daß es in der Nord-Epiros eine griechische Minderheit gibt, und zwar im Grenzgebiet des albanischen Staates, und der man im gegebenen Augenblick die gleichen Bildungs- und Religions-

freiheiten gewähren wird, die auch die albanische Minderheit in Jugoslawien genießt.

Das positive Element des Werkes Reuters ist, daß er uns in sieben kurzgefaßten Kapiteln die Entstehung des Problems wiedergibt, dessen Entwicklung er systematisch aus der Perspektive vieler Jahrhunderte verfolgt, um dann mit Eleganz mit den letzten Geschehnissen von 1981 sein Werk abzurunden. Der Autor ist nicht daran interessiert, irgendwelchen mehr oder weniger interessanten Phasen der albanisch-jugoslawischen Auseinandersetzung auf den Grund zu gehen, sondern will diese historische Frage sowohl in ihrer großen Perspektive, als auch in ihrer Aktualität in den 80iger Jahren darstellen.

Das erste Kapitel: "Historische Einführung" (S. 11-22) setzt sich mit dem Thema Herkunft der Albaner, mit der Besetzung der Region durch die Türken, mit der nationalen Wachsmakeit der Albaner und mit dem ersten unabhängigen albanischen Staat auseinander.

Was die erste Frage betrifft, so unterstützt die albanische Geschichtsschreibung, daß die heutigen Albaner Abkömmlinge des indoeuropäischen Stammes der Illyrier sind. Eine These, die die ausländischen Historiker nicht akzeptieren. Gemäß dieser ersten Annahme jedoch wollten sich die illyrischen Stämme um ca. 1000 v. Chr. im West-Balkan niederlassen, nachdem sie zuvor mit den Thraziern in Berührung gekommen waren. Im dritten Jahrhundert nach Chr. vereinigten sich diese Volksstämme zu einem Reich, und wenig später eroberten die Römer nach und nach diese Vereinigung, was zur Folge hatte, daß ein Teil dieser Gruppen ins Gebirge aussiedelte. Aus diesem Grund ist es auch kein Zufall, wenn der Geograph und Astronom Ptolemäus aus Alexandrien (2. Jhd. v. Chr.) manche illyrischen Stämme erwähnt, die eine unterschiedliche Sprache und andere Sitten hatten, und die in Gebirgsgegenden zwischen dem Durres und dem Diber lebten.

Die Versuche der Christianisierung der Bewohner trugen schon bald Früchte und die Region gehörte verwaltungsmäßig mal zu Konstantinopel und mal zu Rom, was zur Folge hatte, daß nach der Teilung der Kirche (1054) der nördliche Teil Albaniens katholisch wurde, wohingegen der mittlere und südliche Teil orthodox war.

Die Auswanderung der albanischen Stämme im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. hatte auch im albanischen Raum Folgen, da die einheimischen illyrischen Stämme verdrängt und in die Gebirgsgegenden gedrängt wurden, wo sie ein nomadisches Leben lebten.

Erst im 11. Jahrhundert erschienen die Albaner auf der Bühne der Geschichte, und der Name Albaner bzw. Arvaniten wird als Synonym mit den

Abkömmlingen der alten Illyrer, die sogar in den Gebirgsgegenden zwischen den Städten Skutari-Durres-Ohrid-Prizren angesiedelt waren, eingeführt. Die Regionen des heutigen Albaniens gelangen nacheinander vom 10. bis zum 14. Jhd. unter bulgarische, serbische (das Reich des Stefan Dušan), normanische und venezianische Herrschaft. Ende des 14., Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts erobern die Osmanen das albanische Gebiet, um bis zu den Anfängen des 20. Jahrhunderts daran festzuhalten. Beispielhafte Ausnahme in dieser langfristigen Besatzungszeit sind die Kämpfe des Gjergj Kastrioti oder Skanderbeg für ein unabhängiges Albanien (Mitte des 15. Jhd.).

Man würde erwarten, daß die ersten nationalen "Freudenssprünge" der Albaner sich zu Beginn des 19. Jhd. manifestierten, d.h. gleichzeitig mit den nationalen Selbstfindungsversuchen auch der anderen balkanischen Völker. Jedoch läßt sich die erste national-albanische Manifestation erst am Vortage des Kongresses von Berlin (Juni 1878) erkennen, und zwar durch die Bildung der "Albanischen Liga" bzw. der "Liga von Prizren", die aber zu keinem wesentlichen Ergebnis führen.

Die Albaner unterstützen die Revolution, die die Jungtürken organisieren (Sommer 1908), aber unmittelbar im Anschluß daran erheben sie sich und fordern ihre nationalen Rechte. Als Antwort auf diese Aufstände gewähren die Türken Albanien die Unabhängigkeit kurz vor Ausbruch des Balkanischen Krieges (September 1912). Die Interessen und die Methoden der Großmächte auf dem Balkan fördern die Idee eines unabhängigen albanischen Staates, was zum Ergebnis hat, daß die Konferenz von London (Juli 1913) die Unabhängigkeit Albaniens, mit König den Prinzen Wilhelm zu Wiede, ausruft. Während des ersten Weltkrieges wird Albanien von serbischen, englischen, italienischen, französischen und österreichischen Truppen besetzt. Italien (Juni 1917) ruft die Einheit und Unabhängigkeit Albaniens unter der Schirmherrschaft des italienischen Königreiches aus und die Botschaftskonferenz der Siegermächte (Nov. 1921) löst die Frage der albanischen Grenzen:

Im zweiten Kapitel: "Die Albaner in Kosovo—Die Entwicklung bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg" (S. 23-32) behandelt Reuter das Thema der Nationalität der Bevölkerungsschichten in der Region von Kosovo, die geschichtlichen Wurzeln von Albanern und Serben in der Region, die Albaner von Kosovo zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen und die Haltung der KPJ (Kommunistische Partei Jugoslawiens) bezüglich der albanischen Frage in den Jahren 1920-1941.

Wichtige Station in der Präsenz der Serben in Kosovo ist einerseits die Schlacht von Kosovo (Amsfeld, 28.6.1389) zwischen Türken und Serben und die Niederlage letzterer; andererseits die Auswanderung vieler Tausen-

der Serben zusammen mit dem Patriarchen von Péc, Arsenije III. Crnojević (1689) nach der zweiten mißlungenen Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken (1683). Folge dieser Geschehnisse ist die gewaltsame Islamisierung der Serben (Mitte 18. Jhd.). Zwei Umstände, die die Bevölkerungs-Analogien in der Region zu Lasten der Serben verändern, und die bis auf kleine Änderungen bis heute erhalten bleiben.

Es muß allerdings an dieser Stelle erwähnt werden, daß die nationale Wachsamkeit der Serben aus zwei Gründen mit der Region von Kosovo verbunden ist. Zunächst weil in diesem Raum das Patriarchat von Péc (1346) gegründet wurde, und zweitens, weil dort auch die Schlacht von Kosovo stattfand. Ferner betrachteten die Serben die Albaner von Kosovo als Fremde und daher auch bar jeglicher historischen Rechte in dieser Region.

Was die Albaner von Kosovo in der Zeit zwischen den zwei Weltkriegen betrifft muß hier erwähnt werden, daß viele Versuche unternommen wurden, um sie zu integrieren, mit einem allerdings oftmals zweifelhaften Resultat.

Bezüglich der Haltung der KPJ—wenn man die Jahre 1936-1940 ausnimmt—kann man sagen, daß sie die nationalen Interessen der Albaner in Kosovo nicht unterstützt hat.

Im gleich darauffolgenden Kapitel: "Kosovo im Zweiten Weltkrieg und in der ersten Nachkriegszeit" (S. 33-41), wird die Haltung der Albaner von Kosovo im Bürgerkrieg analysiert, die eindeutig negativ gegenüber den Partisanen Titos war. Erwähnt werden die Beziehungen zwischen der Kommunistischen Partei Jugoslawiens und Albaniens, die sehr gespannt waren. Bezug genommen wird darauf, wie die Jugoslawen und Albaner ihre Nachkriegsbeziehungen sahen, und zwar unter der Perspektive einer Zusammenarbeit und nationalen Annäherung. Und schließlich wird der Streit in Kominform (Juni 1948), der Bruch Stalin-Tito als das Ereignis, das die Gegnerschaft der beiden Völker Jugoslawiens und Albaniens mit Brennpunkt Kosovo signalisierte, kommentiert.

Im vierten Kapitel: "Kosovo in der Nachkriegszeit bis heute" (S. 43-77) behandelt der Autor den politischen Status von Kosovo, welches verwaltungsmäßig der Republik von Serbien angegliedert wurde. Ferner wird die Unterdrückung beschrieben, die die Albaner über sich ergehen lassen mußten und es werden auch die Versuche erwähnt, die gemacht wurden, um Kosovo von einer Provinz zu einer Republik auszurufen.

In der Folge werden die Argumente der Serben analysiert, die dem Kosovo den verwaltungsmäßigen Status der Republik verwehren wollten, weil dadurch ihre politischen Interessen tödlich getroffen würden und sich der Weg zur nationalen Unabhängigkeit nicht nur der Albaner in Kosovo, sondern

auch der Albaner, die in der jugoslawischen Republik Makedoniens leben, ebnen würde.

Die drei nächsten untergeordneten Einheiten widmen sich der wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen und bildungspolitischen Unterentwicklung im Kosovo in Beziehung zu anderen Regionen Jugoslawiens, wie auch einem Vergleich betreffend den graduellen Entwicklungsunterschied zwischen Kosovo und Albanien.

Im fünften und wichtigsten Kapitel "Der Aufruhr des Jahres 1981" (S. 79-101) gelangen wir zu Ereignissen, die aktuell und wesentlich für das Verständnis der Situation sind, wie diese sich bis zu den heutigen Tagen 1990 abzeichnet. Ausgangspunkt des Aufruhrs die Universität Pristina (11.-26. März 1981) und die schnelle Verbreitung der Unruhen in allen Großstädten von Kosovo (26. März - 1 April 1981) mit Parolen wie: "Wir wollen eine Republik Kosovo" oder "Wir sind Albaner und keine Jugoslawen". Diese Proteste endeten blutig nach dem Eingriff des Militärs.

Jugoslawien erachtete offiziell eine Gruppe von nicht befreiten Nationalisten, die im Ausland lebten und die Auflösung des Sozialsystems Jugoslawiens zum Ziele hatten, als verantwortlich. Am Anfang identifizierten sich diese Anstifter mit den Sowjets, später mit den Albanern. Sogar durch die Presse machten die Jugoslawen auch das Regime von Hoxha verantwortlich und führten viele Säuberungsaktionen von Politikern aus dem Verwaltungsmechanismus der Region durch. Ferner wurde die Universität von Pristina als Zentrum des albanischen Nationalismus und Irredentismus angesehen und der kulturelle Austausch mit Albanien wurde unterbrochen. Ein großer Teil der Serben und Montenegriner, die in Kosovo lebten wurden gezwungen auszuwandern, und eine anti-albanische Stimmung in den restlichen Regionen des Landes machte sich breit.

Folge dieses Aufruhrs der Albaner in Kosovo, der einen sehr stark befreienden und nationalen Charakter hatte, war, daß die Serben unnachgiebig in der Frage des Status einer Demokratie für Kosovo wurden, mit der Begründung, daß dieses Zugeständnis nicht nur verfassungswidrig, sondern auch höchst gefährlich für die nationalen Interessen Jugoslawiens sei (s. Seite 94).

Um diese Krise in den Griff zu bekommen, stimmte der Bund der Kommunisten Jugoslawiens einer Kosovo-Plattform (17.11.1981) zu, die fünf Punkte bezüglich der zukünftigen politischen Haltung der Jugoslawen beinhaltete. Diese Punkte bezogen sich auf die Aktivitäten bestimmter nationalistischer Gruppen, auf die Rolle der politischen Verwaltung von Kosovo, auf das brisante Thema der Arbeitslosigkeit, der Wirtschaftspolitik allgemein, der Isolierung und auf die Selbstverwaltung.

Im unmittelbar darauffolgenden Kapitel: "Die Kósovo-Frage im Kontext der jugoslawisch-albanischen Beziehungen" (S. 103-112) analysiert der Autor —wie auch der Titel erkennen läßt— das Problem Kosovo, und zwar aus der Perspektive der drei vorangegangenen Jahrzehnte jugoslawisch-albanischer Beziehungen. Konkreter geht es hier um den Bruch zwischen Stalin und Tito im Juni 1948, der eine große Feindschaft zwischen den beiden Ländern verursachte, mit der Folge, daß die Beziehungen für mindestens 15 Jahre, d.h. also bis 1963, sehr gespannt waren. 1968 verbessern sich diese Beziehungen und ein Abkommen über einen kulturellen Austausch wird unterschrieben. Aber die Zustände verschlechtern sich ständig ab 1975 und von da ab.

Im Anschluß daran wird im Kapitel, das die Überschrift "Perspektiven" (S. 113-115) trägt, ein Versuch unternommen, die in Kosovo gegebene Situation realistisch einzuschätzen. Die Auswegslosigkeit, die in kurzer Zeit durch die zunehmenden Geburtenraten der Albaner entstehen wird, in Verbindung mit den hohen Arbeitslosenraten, ist das größte und brisanteste Problem, das die politische Führung Jugoslawiens bekämpfen muß. Ferner stellt die Albanisierung des Kosovo nach dem Abzug der Serben und der Montenegriner aus der Gegend ein anderes wichtiges Element bei der Lösung der Angelegenheit dar.

Natürlich muß man den ausgesprochenen Wunsch der Albaner aus Kosovo ernsthaft berücksichtigen, die nicht wollen, daß ihre Region an das Albanien des Hoxha und seiner Nachfolger angegliedert wird, und zwar wegen derer Absolutismus, sondern daß Kosovo die Rolle eines "Piemonts" Albaniens spielen soll. Eine Wahl, die entscheidend sein wird für die Grenzen und die Zukunft aller Völker des Balkans.

Am Ende folgt ein Anhang (S. 117-132) mit wichtigem Quellennachweis über die politischen Dinge des Kosovo.

Zum Abschluß dieses kleinen Essays über das Werk Reuters meine ich, daß man mit Gewißheit behaupten kann, daß das Ziel des Autors, den Leser mit Klarheit und Methodik über ein sehr naheliegendes und aktuelles Thema zu informieren, gelungen ist.

Book Reviews

Κωφοῦ Εδαγγέλου, *Ἡ βαλκανικὴ διένεξη τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ Ζητήματος στὰ χρόνια τῆς Κατοχῆς καὶ στὴν Ἀντίσταση*, σελ. 68, Ἀθήναι 1989; Ev. Kofos, *The impact of the Macedonian question on civil conflict in Greece 1943-49*, pp. 46, Athens 1989.

The wellknown scholar Evangelos Kofos, an expert on Balkan affairs and history, has published at the end of 1989 two essays dealing with the impact of the Macedonian Question on the civil conflict in Greece, 1943-49, one in Greek and one in English. The author analyses the dangers to which Greek Macedonia and Greek Thrace were exposed in the years 1943-49. The latter were due to Tito's expansionist policy and are connected with those incurred by the Bulgarian occupation of Eastern Macedonia and of Thrace, where the Germans invited them in 1941 and where they remained until the end of 1944. It has to be stressed that Greece did not lose the areas of Macedonia and of Thrace it held at the beginning of World War II thanks to the efforts of the United Kingdom and of the United States which were able to impose their views on the Soviet Union. The author tries to prove that the Greek Communist Party was not, after 1935, willing to abandon those Greek areas and mentions decisions which were useful in this connection for the interests of Greece. The author further supports that German tendencies to expand the Bulgarian zone of occupation were abandoned when the unanimous Greek opposition became felt. At the same time the author admits that the collaboration of the Athens Quisling Government to this move was not without any utility.

The two essays give a lot of information based on all sources published until now and mention those unpublished. I believe that the advantage for the reader would have been greater if the author did divide the content of the two books in a systematic way, either by year or on the basis of any other criterium, as for instance the evolution of the expansionist Bulgarian policy, or the aims of Tito, or the repercussions of the forecasts of the impending German defeat, or the development of Balkan and Greek politics. Independently of this reserve the author is perfectly right when stressing that the developments in Northern Greece were caused by the initiative and by the decisions of foreign powers and particularly of the three Great Powers which were able to limit and to direct both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in their expansionist policy, as Greece had certainly no reason to raise the question to which country these areas were to be incorporated. The author does not ignore the contribution in this connection of the policy of the Greek Government in the appropriate direction and of the will of the Soviet Union in connection with the Straits, particularly after the discord between Yugoslavia and the Soviet-led Cominform which started in 1948. On the other hand the author analyses the vain efforts of Bulgaria, after the change of régime on September 9, 1944, to keep Greek Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace, whilst willing to abandon the Yugoslav areas occupied by the Bulgarians in 1941-44.

Thessaloniki.

D. J. DELIVANIS

Henri Ehret, *Passé avant le meilleur ou l'histoire de ces comtes qui ont fait la Champagne*.—
Préface de P. Moinot de l'Académie Française, pp. 360, La Renaissance, Troyes, 1989.

Monsieur Henri Ehret a fini sa carrière d'Inspecteur de l'Académie et de Conseiller Culturel auprès de trois Ambassades de France. Il s'est livré, quand il a été atteint par la retraite, à un travail consciencieux et approfondi sur l'évolution de la Champagne entre, 900 et 1270, quand elle a été incorporée dans le Royaume de France. Nous sommes souvent habitués à étudier l'histoire d'un état sur la base de ce qui a lieu et de ce qui est décidé dans la capitale de l'état en cause. Il n'en est pas ainsi dans l'ouvrage de Monsieur H. Ehret où l'évolution en Champagne constitue le centre de la recherche entreprise et menée à bonne fin. Evidemment le développement de la Champagne ne s'est pas arrêté avec son incorporation dans le Royaume de France en 1270. Elle a néanmoins cessé d'être le centre où les décisions sont prises et d'où on poursuit leur exécution. L'ouvrage contient le Prologue, quinze chapitres, l'Epilogue, un Atlas historique, un tableau chronologique, des tableaux généalogiques, un Lexique, la Bibliographie et la Discographie.

L'auteur attire l'attention du lecteur sur les développements les plus importants en Champagne et dans les relations de cette dernière avec ses voisins, surtout avec les Royaumes de France et d'Angleterre ainsi qu'avec le Saint Siège. Néanmoins, très justement d'ailleurs, l'auteur insiste sur le développement des foires tenues en Champagne, la stabilité monétaire qui a pu s'y établir, la participation aux Croisades, enfin les mesures détestables prises à mainte reprise contre les Juifs dont la collaboration a tellement contribué au développement de la Champagne.

En effet, les comtes ont puissamment contribué à la stabilisation de la situation en Champagne, à la neutralisation des sources de désordre et particulièrement du brigandage et de ce fait à assurer l'ordre à l'intérieur des localités et sur les routes. Ainsi, la Champagne est devenue un pays par excellence capable d'héberger des foires internationales en leur assurant l'infrastructure requise, les possibilités de régler les différends survenant entre les parties contractantes et la place indiquée pour procéder à des compensations réduisant le recours au numéraire toutes les fois que cela était possible. L'auteur soutient, et il n'a pas tort, que la Champagne était devenue dans les années qui nous intéressent ce que de nos jours est la Suisse, sans évidemment se référer à cette dernière.

Les comtes de la Champagne ont participé aux Croisades. L'auteur n'a pas omis de signaler les répercussions défavorables de la 4ème Croisade qui a fait disparaître pendant un demi siècle environ l'Empire Byzantin et l'a laissé réapparaître très affaibli entre 1261 et 1453. L'auteur soutient que Constantinople a été reprise par l'armée de l'Empire de Nicée par surprise mais cela ne change pas le fait que l'Empire de Constantinople (Latin) n'a pu que végéter de 1204 à 1261. Il a de plus contribué à transférer dans certaines régions de ce qui a été l'Empire Byzantin les querelles, les guerres civiles et féodales fréquentes à cette époque en Occident. Cet état de choses a certainement influencé défavorablement l'essor économique de ce qu'a été l'Empire Byzantin Occidental excepté quelques îlots de sécurité et de prospérité, comme ce fut le cas de la Champagne. Je dois ajouter que la politique des comtes de la Champagne vis-à-vis des Juifs n'a pas été indiquée, et a eu des conséquences déplorables.

L'auteur s'est beaucoup occupé des problèmes matrimoniaux des familles régnantes en Europe Occidentale et Centrale et il l'a fait avec beaucoup de succès. L'ouvrage constitue un grand succès qui prouve qu'on peut très bien analyser l'histoire d'un ou de plusieurs pays en se basant sur le développement régional.

Thessaloniki

D. J. DELIVANIS

Κ. Βιθυνού-Μάνου, *Γεώργιος Δροσίνης - ο ποιητής και η μνήμη*, σελ. 297, Σόλλογος Διαδόσεως Ὁφελίμων Βιβλίων, Ἀθήναι 1989 [K. Vithynos-Manos, *George Drosinis—unpublished manuscripts, poetry and letters*, pp. 297, Athens 1989].

George Drosinis has been one of the leading modern Greek poets. A great number of his books and poems have been published but some remained unpublished. Mrs Katy Vithynos-Manos whose family were great friends with the Drosinis family decided to publish whatever impressed her from her childhood about the great poet, unpublished poetry and letters of his and poetry already published. The result has been this book. It contains the foreword of C. Th. Dimaras, pp. 7-15, various details concerning the life and the activity of the poet, pp. 21-56, unpublished poetry, pp. 59-102, unpublished letters, pp. 109-198, poetry already published, pp. 201-84 and the table of contents, p. 282.

The book has been published by the Association for the circulation of useful books. The latter issued (1900-1989) some 270 books which have had a great success and have exercised a great influence on their readers. The author was influenced from her childhood by the personality of George Drosinis and was able to draw the readers' attention on his qualities and on his achievements. Thanks to her performance George Drosinis' books secured a more general recognition, are considered as very successful and as exercising a great influence.

Thessaloniki

D. J. DELIVANIS

Elisabeth Malamut, *Les Iles de l'Empire Byzantin; VIIIe-XIIe siècles*; volumes I-II, (Paris) 1988, pp. 1-374, 375-712; Préface d'Hélène Ahrweiler (Publications de la Sorbonne, Université de Paris I - Panthéon - Sorbonne, Série Byzantina Sorbonensia - 8, Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines); ISBN: 2-85944 - 164 - 6.

Il s'agit d'un doctorat ès lettres, soutenu en 1984, par Madame Elisabeth Malamut, actuellement professeur agrégé, directeur de recherches au CNRS et ancienne élève de Madame Hélène Ahrweiler.

L'ouvrage est consacré à l'histoire des îles de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque médiévale, pendant la période la plus riche en événements dont l'issue a marqué l'histoire non seulement de Byzance mais de la Méditerranée en général: c'est la période des VIIIe - XIIe siècles qui a vu l'apparition des flottes arabes et les conquêtes islamiques de pays chrétiens, qui a marqué la rivalité entre les deux parties de la chrétienté (Orient Orthodoxe et Occident Catholique - Romain) pour aboutir à la guerre fratricide illustrée par la Quatrième Croisade.

Madame Malamut étudie de façon approfondie le cadre géographique et politique (pp. 25-124); la population insulaire (pp. 125-179); les monuments, l'habitat et les peuplements des îles de l'Empire au VIIIe s. XIIes. (pp. 181-294); l'administration insulaire (civile et ecclésiastique) (pp. 295-371); l'économie insulaire du VIIe - VIIIe s. à la fin du XIIe s. (pp. 383-469), la société insulaire (pp. 471-533) et les relations des îles avec le reste de la Méditerranée Orientale (pp. 535-612).

L'auteur, après avoir présenté la multiplicité, l'éparpillement et l'originalité des îles

byzantines, a dégagé surtout trois thèmes a) celui de la géographie spécifique de la région; b) celui de l'isolement et, à la fois, de l'ouverture des îles sur le monde extérieur et c) celui d'une histoire proprement byzantine.

Une étude consciencieuse qui témoigne d'une minutie exemplaire.

CONSTANTIN PAPOULIDIS

Nikolaj Todorov and Asparuh Velkov, *Situation démographique de la Péninsule balkanique (fin du XVe s. - début du XVIe s.)*, Editions de l'Académie Bulgare des Sciences, Sofia 1988, 312 pp. + 1 map.

As it is stated in the introduction, the authors have attempted to solve certain demographic problems of the Balkan Peninsula according to a *cizye* register recorded at the end of the 15th century. This *cizye* register, which is preserved at the Cyril and Methodius National Library of Sofia, no doubt forms the basis of the authors' work. Secondly, they depend on the published material by the Turkish and non-Turkish scholars who have used the documents from the Ottoman archives in their works.

The full text of the Ottoman register of the Christian population who paid the poll tax at the end of the 15th century (1490-1491) is transcribed into standard Arabic letters and translated into French. It is stated in the introduction that the philological elaboration is the work of A. Velkov.

The authors have tried their best in order to avoid mistakes on the territorial location. They have worked out the density of the population in the Balkan provinces of the Ottomans in accordance with the *sancaks* and based their data on the households (*hane*) recorded in the register.

The authors argue that, in this study, they have arrived at very "interesting and extremely indicative conclusions in connection with the ratio between Moslems and non-Moslems in different regions, as well as on the ensuing changes in this respect". They further argue that "Observations of the data collected show that these changes were due not only to spontaneous colonization or one that carried out, but were mainly the result of mass or individual Islamization of the local Balkan population".

The authors further argue that the mass or individual Islamization was done forcibly and that even the highest possible figures (perhaps recorded in the Ottoman registers) on the numbers of the Turkish settlers in the 15th-16th century can hardly explain the Muslim multitude in the Balkan provinces in the 19th century.

The authors have directed their attention on the individual Islamization which according to them resulted in the disappearance of the national consciousness. They have also argued that what is called "voluntary" Islamization was the result of oppression and discrimination.

It is very mysterious how the authors have arrived at the conclusions cited above, particularly when we have to bear in mind that the authors have only one source, namely a 15th century *cizye* register which can hardly be a source on the Muslim population and bear witness to the Islamization of the Balkan provinces which started at a later date and came about gradually, going through a process lasting for centuries.

This *defter*, which also includes the provinces of Saruhan, Aydın, Mençese, Hamid, Germiyan and Ankara, is quite good for showing the household members of non-Muslims and the *cizye* collected from them in the provinces covered by the *defter*. From the *defter* we understand that there was one mosque almost in all the *sancaks* and *nahiyes* mentioned in the *defter*. Most probably these mosques were there to meet the religious needs of the Turkish communities who moved to the newly conquered area as a ruling class. We also find that the ruling classes, being mostly soldiers, were settled in the fortresses, like Akçe hisar, Alaca hisar, Avret hisarı, Eski hisar, etc. around which villages and towns grew. There must have also been Turkish immigrants who settled in places that were suitable for new settlements such as Akova, Alaeddin ovası, Çatalca, Kara pınar, Saray ovası, Yeni pazar, etc. Naturally towns and villages grew around such places as well. Furthermore, there must have been some Turkish immigrants who have settled in already existing inhabited places and lived side by side with the natives. Such diverse settlements would indicate a plan towards a voluntary Islamization of the locals rather than forcible Islamization. It also shows that the Turks respected the traditions of the local inhabitants and guarded themselves against touching any property belonging to them. I also believe that Islamization in the area during the first years of Ottoman rule was slow and also the mass settlement of the Turks must have come gradually. Therefore a study of documents covering all the periods of Ottoman rule in the Balkans will bring to light not only the Islamization process, but also an almost accurate ratio of the Muslims and Christians in the area.

The authors basing their information on the works of T. Gökbilgin and Ö. L. Barkan cite 29 *sancaks* falling within the Beylerbeylik of Rumelia. These *sancaks* are: 1) Paşa *sancak*ı; 2) Gallipoli (Gelibolu); 3) Vize; 4) Çirmen; 5) Silistre; 6) Niğbolu; 7) Vidin; 8) Sofia (Sofya); 9) Köstendil; 10) Alaca Hisar; 11) Vülçitrin; 12) Prizrin; 13) Bosnia (Bosna); 14) Hersek; 15) Izvornik; 16) Semendire; 17) Karadağ; 18) Iskenderiye; 19) Ohri; 20) Ibasan; 21) Avlonya; 22) Yanina; 23) Tırhala; 24) Preveza (Karlı-ili); 25) Ağrıboz; 26) Mora; 27) Selanik; 28) Midilli; 29) Kefe. Then the authors basing their information on various sources and secondary works cite the *nahiyes* that fall within these *sancaks* individually.

The authors tabulate (Table 1) the number of households and widows and the amount of *cizye* they have paid according to the 1490-91 register. The tables, when compared with the map, appear to cover almost all the *sancaks* and *nahiyes* of the Balkans, stretching from Istanbul in the East to Dubrovnik in the West and from Semendire in the North to Athens in the South.

In Table 2 the authors, again making use of 1491 register, have joined households and widows for each *sancak* and *nahiye* and have given the totals for each *vilayet*.

In Table 3 the total number of households have been given for each *sancak* and the square meters of each *sancak* have been divided by its total household number in order to find out the number of households per square meter. In Table 4 the population of each *sancak* is cited according to its *awarız-hane* in 1520-1530 and then the same division as above is made for each *sancak*. In Table 5 the *sancaks* are repartitioned into the density of their household per square meter in 1491, 1520 and 1535. Table 6 is very interesting. In this Table the population of non-Muslims is compared with the population of Muslims and their percentages are given.

The censuses made for the Balkan provinces are very numerous, particularly for the 16th century (for a simple list see M. Mehdi İlhan, "The Process of Ottoman Cadastral Surveys during the second half of Sixteenth Century: A Study Based on the Documents from Muhişme Defters", in Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A. D. Xenopol", XXIV/

1, 1987, pp. 23-25) and all of these censuses have to be examined in order to arrive at healthy ethnic population figures.

In any case, the work of N. Todorov and A. Velkov is an excellent contribution to the research in the field of archival documents. No doubt the authors have carried out a careful examination of the register and the scribal errors are almost ignorable, as the following examples are clear indications.

The Arabic word *tavābī'ihā* (توابيها) is written as *tavābiha* (توبها) (p. 48), and Kıratova (قراطره) as Kirtuva (قراطره) (p. 60). I also believe that the standard Ottoman word for *nahiye* is *nahiye* (ناحية) rather than *nahiyet* (ناهيت). Also the scribe has put the dot on the Arabic letter "ع" where it is not necessary and has not put it where it is necessary. For instance he has put the dot on the first letter of *hāci* (حاجي) throughout the text whereas for the "ع" letters of the other words such as *hasa* (هاسه), *al-aher* (الامر), *kethudā* (كثده), *İftihar* (افتخار) he at times used the dot and at other times has not used it. I also have noticed, when comparing the given facsimiles with the transcription, that the word *tamamen* (تماماً) should have read as *tammen* (تاماً) and *Cemaziye'levvel* (جمادى الاول) as *Cemaziye'l-ula* (جمادى الاولى).

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J. MEHDI İLHAN

I. Dimitru-Snagov, *Le Saint-Siège et la Roumanie moderne (1866-1914)*, Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, Roma, 1989, XXVI+1026 p.

Le 57^e volume de la série *Miscellanea Historiae Pontifical*, éditée par l'Université Grégorienne de Rome, est consacré aux relations entre le Vatican et la Roumanie moderne, pendant la période des années 1866-1914.

Ce tome volumineux continue les recherches de l'historien I. Dumitru-Snagov, parues dans un premier volume ayant le même titre, publié en 1982 au sein du 48^e volume de la même série. Le présent ouvrage est organiquement lié au premier, non pas uniquement par son contenu mais aussi par la structure et la méthodologie d'étude.

À l'intérieur des relations entre le Vatican et la Roumanie moderne, l'auteur distingue trois étapes: la I^{ère} entre les années 1850-1866—des *tâtonnements* entre les deux partenaires, différents comme doctrine et structure, mais prouvant le même désir de collaboration; la II^{ème} entre les années 1866-1914—la *confirmation* d'une bienveillance réciproquement contrôlée (il s'agit du présent volume); la III^{ème} entre les années 1914-1930—la *confiance* matérialisée dans le droit international du Concordat (qui constituera l'objet d'un futur volume).

Après la présentation des sources (inédites et imprimées) de la bibliographie consultée (sélective—211 titres et générale—130 titres), à vrai dire impressionnante, on a inséré un court avant-propos, suivi de l'étude proprement-dite.

L'étude commence par l'analyse de l'horizon politique européen, des avatars et des nécessités historiques de l'Empire Ottoman ainsi que de l'instauration de la monarchie en Roumanie. Du chapitre intitulé *À la recherche des temps nouveaux—entre la tradition et la réforme*, ce sont les recherches centrées sur les relations entre le Vatican et l'Eglise Orientale, les particularités et les contrastes entre Rome et la Roumanie; la consolidation de l'Eglise

Orthodoxe de Transylvanie, l'unité de l'Eglise et l'union des églises, qui retiennent notre attention.

Le plus étendu espace dans l'économie du volume est occupé par le chapitre *Rome—la vocation de l'unité de la Roumanie moderne*—au-dedans duquel l'auteur analyse avec une pertinence particulière le problème politique que la dynastie roumaine implique, la vision unitaire de l'Etat et de l'Eglise, le catholicisme de la dynastie roumaine par rapport aux nécessités historiques, la réhabilitation de la hiérarchie catholique.

De cette manière, après la 566e Session de la Sainte Congrégation des Affaires Ecclésiastiques Extraordinaires (le 3 mars 1883), du point de vue de l'administration ecclésiastique, le territoire qui s'étendait entre le Nistru, la Mer Noire, le Danube et la plaine de la Tisza est passé sous la juridiction directe et unitaire de l'organisation la Propagande Fide, constituant un "Status Catholicus Romaniae" dirigé par Rome, des deux côtés des Carpates.

En même temps la création de l'archevêché de Bucarest offre la perspective d'une propre juridiction centralisée correspondant à l'évolution de la Roumanie et anticipant d'une trentaine d'années l'accomplissement de l'Etat National Unitaire au 1er décembre 1918, reconnu par le droit international, grâce au Traité de Paix conclu entre les années 1919-1920.

L'auteur considère que dans le déroulement des événements l'archevêché de Bucarest s'est constitué comme une autorité dynamique. A cette occasion sont présentées les tentatives menées pour régler les relations entre l'Etat et l'Eglise.

L'analyse de l'évolution historique des relations entre le Vatican et la Roumanie moderne finit par l'examen de la période qui précède la première guerre mondiale.

En guise de conclusion, l'étude de l'époque mentionnée répond aussi à des problèmes plus généraux, exposés par des sceptiques qui considèrent que les relations entre le Vatican et la Roumanie seraient dépourvues de vitalité, vu une certaine "incompatibilité" entre le centre du catholicisme et un pays orthodoxe.

Les annexes comprennent 340 documents (737 pages) en latin, italien et français. Pour faciliter la consultation de ces documents il y a une série d'index sur: l'ordre chronologique, la provenance, les expéditeurs, les principaux problèmes analysés, noms de personnes, actes et décrets, noms géographiques, institutions et périodiques.

Deux sommaires (en anglais et russe) complètent cet impressionnant volume, une recherche scientifique d'exception.

Romanian Academy

CONSTANTIN NEGREANU

Ch. Tzitzilis, *Griechische Lehnwörter im Türkischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anatolischen Dialekte*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Schriften der Balkankommission, Linguistische Abteilung 33, Wien 1987, 201 S.

Die Arbeit besteht aus Vorwort (S. 7-10), Literaturverzeichnis (S. 11-18), dem Hauptteil "Griechische Lehnwörter im Türkischen" (S. 21-139) und einem weiteren Teil mit Bemerkungen zum Wortmaterial (S. 145-158), die sich u.a. auf das Alter und die Verteilung der griechischen Lehnwörter im Türkischen sowie die Widerspiegelung in ihnen der griechischen Dialekte (Pontisch, Kappadokisch, Kyprisch) beziehen. Ein Wortregister von indogermanischen, romanischen, slavischen, kaukasischen, semitischen und türkischen Sprachen ist angeschlossen.

Es geht um die sogenannten direkten Entlehnungen des Türkischen bzw. der anatolischen Dialekte aus dem Griechischen. Wörter griechischen Ursprungs, die durch die europäischen Sprachen oder durch arabische und persische Vermittlung ins Türkische eingedrungen sind, werden nicht berücksichtigt. Andererseits "gelten als griechisch" nach dem Verf. "jene Wörter, die die türkische Sprache dem Griechischen unmittelbar entnommen hat, ohne Rücksicht auf ihre Herkunft. Es sind also sowohl stammrecht griechische Wörter als auch solche, die im Griechischen selbst Lehnwörter aus anderen Sprachen sind, berücksichtigt".

Der Verf. hat sich eine schwierige Aufgabe gestellt, die durch den Mangel an bedeutenden Hilfswerken, z.B. neugriechischen Dialektwörterbüchern oder einem immer noch fehlenden neuen türkischen etymologischen Wörterbuch, noch schwieriger wird. Von griechischer Seite her ist 1974 glücklicherweise das umfangreiche Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten von N. Andriotis erschienen, das dem Verf. den Weg bedeutend geebnet hat. In 597 Stichwörtern werden entsprechende griechisch-türkische meist neue etymologische Verknüpfungen gemacht. Ältere griechisch-türkische Wortverknüpfungen der bisherigen Forschung beschäftigen den Verf., insoweit neue türkische Wortformen auftauchen oder Verbesserungsvorschläge zu früheren Etymologien zu machen sind. Dem Kenner der griechisch-türkischen Sprachbeziehungen ist nicht fremd, wie reich die türkischen Wortformen sein können, die einem griechischen Wort und seinen Varianten entstammen; es gibt Fälle, bei denen über 20 verschiedene türkische Wortformen von einem griechischen Wort herrühren (z.B. τζακέλιν "Hacke") *tü zageł, çekel, çekgel, çekkel, çekül, çekel, çekvel, çekel* usw.) gegenüber anderen extremen Fällen, bei denen eine einzige türkische Wortform ihrem griechischen Vorbild entspricht (z.B. πῶλος "Fohlen") *tü. pılo*). Der Verf. beschränkt sich nicht auf eine bloße Identifikation der türkischen Wortformen mit der entsprechenden griechischen Grundform, sondern bemüht sich, sie auf möglichst bestimmte oder seltener von ihm rekonstruierte griechische Dialektformen zurückzuführen. Bei dem Vorgang der Etymologisierung der griechischen Lehnwörter des Türkischen werden sowohl die Sprachen des Balkans als auch jene des persischen und arabischen Raums herangezogen. Die systematische Verfolgung der Verteilung der griechischen Grundform und ihrer Dialektvarianten auch in den übrigen Balkansprachen enthüllt neue Etymologien griechischer Wörter in diesen Sprachen; so werden eine Menge von Wörtern unbekannter oder nicht klarer Herkunft vorwiegend im Bulgarischen und Albanischen, aber auch im Aromunischen und Georgischen als griechisch erwiesen. Dadurch bekommt auch das Buch von Tzitzilis einen echten und wichtigen balkanologischen Charakter. Zu den bedeutenden Resultaten der Arbeit gehört die Feststellung, dass eine grosse Prozentzahl, etwa 44% der in dieser Arbeit behandelten griechischen Lehnwörter des Türkischen, griechische Archaismen darstellt, was der Verf. dem archaischen Charakter der damit verbundenen griechischen Dialekte, nämlich des Pontischen und Kappadokischen, richtig zuschreibt; einige dieser Archaismen sind im heutigen neugriechischen Dialektraum nicht mehr belegbar. Es lohnt sich hier eine weitere bedeutende Schlussfolgerung der Arbeit zu notieren; das Vorkommen typisch tsakonischer Sprachelemente im türkischen Dialekt von Rize bestätigt die Nachricht byzantinischer Quellen sowie neuere Überlieferungen, nach denen Tsakonen aus dem Peloponnes nach Kleinasien während der byzantinischen Zeit mehrfach umgesiedelt worden sind.

Da sich der Rezensent jahrelang mit dem interessanten Kapitel der gegenseitigen griechisch-türkischen Sprachbeziehungen beschäftigt hat, will er die hier gebotene Gelegenheit nützen, um einige wenige Verbesserungen zu diesem wichtigen Buch vorzuschlagen. Die

Nummern verweisen auf die entsprechenden nummerierten Stichwörter des Buches. 1: *ağure* "Gurke" kann auf einer ngr. Dialektform beruhen, die die agr. Lautung *ἄωρα*, *ἄωρον* bewahrt hat. 6: *hemeteye* "Wunde" setzt ngr. *αιματωσιά* voraus (vgl. z.B. 17: *ibriçe* < *μπρυσία*). 7: *akamat* "ungebautes Land" beruht auf einem pontischen *ακαμάτ(ιν)*. 12: wegen der bulgarischen Formen, die *l-* aufweisen (*lamada*, *lomada*), ist an ein älteres *ἄλμάδα*, *ή* < agr. *ἄλμός* (sc. *πέτρα*) "runder flacher Stein, wodurch Oliven, Gemüse usw. im Fass unter Salzwasser gepresst bleiben" zu denken; vgl. agr. *ἄλμάδες ἔλαται* "Oliven im Salzwasser". 16: *annavus* "Loch unter der Hofmauer usw." beruht auf dem Akk. Pl. *αναβόλους*. 18: wenn *endire*, *endirek*, *enderek* "Erdbeerbaum" sowie *endiriz* "Akazie" überhaupt mit *ανδράχλη* zu verbinden sind, dann mit Volksetymologie an *endirmek*, *indirmek* "heruntertragen". 28: *apulavi*, *apalavi* "Arbeitsfolge" ist auf einem ngr. **απαλλαγή* < *επαλλαγή* "Arbeitsfolge" zurückzuführen; weiter kann *apalavi* "vorübergehend verlassener Arbeitsplatz" direkt aus ngr. *απαλλαγή* kommen. 39: *çarpag* "Stock zum Fischen" beruht auf dem Akk. Pl. *τας/τις αρπάγας/αρπάγες*. 57: "*oğendire*, *ofendire*, *örendire* usw. "Ochsenstachel", d.h. die Variantenreihe, die *-i-* in der vorletzten Silbe aufweist, geht wohl auf ngr. *βουκέντρι* zurück. 58: *bügülü* "Teil des Pfluges" kann mit eventueller Anlehnung an *bükülmek*, *bügülmek* "gekrümmt, gebogen werden" entstanden sein. 83: *griz*, *gırç* usw. beruhen wohl auf einem pont. **γρίζιν* < **ἐκριζιον* < agr. *ἐκριζος* "entwurzelt, gerodet". 85: spätlat. *gingivula* "Zahnfleisch" steht dem pont. *γριντζιλιν* näher, wenn letzteres nicht mit einem gr. **ἐκριζόλλιον* oder **ἐκριζίδιον* "Zahnfleisch" < agr. *ἐκριζος* "* in der Zahnwurzel befindlich" zusammenhängt. 112: *caleps* "Abschälen der Haselnuss" ist eher mit einem gr. *διαλεπίζω* (vgl. die Glosse *διαλεπίζω* "abschälen" Demetrakos 1893 und unter 94 *τζάμα* (*διάδημα*) zu verbinden; dasselbe gr. V. in der Form **διαγλουπίζω* (vgl. pont. *γλουπίζω* "abschälen") liegt höchstwahrscheinlich den tü. *culuf*, *zuluf* "Schale" zugrunde. 117: *λατάρι* "Widder" ist wohl aus gr. **ελατάρης* (sc. *κρίος*) zu erklären. 128: ich nehme an, dass sich die Bedeutung "sehr sauer" von *zakoti* auf eine bekannte Art der Zubereitung von Oliven bezieht und dass daher das Stichwort mit 517: *τζακότα* und 544: *τσακιστή* zu verbinden ist. 131: *ezelgit* geht wohl auf das bezeugte, aber von Papadopoulos LP 1, 337 (*ζευλίβ* "Jochnagel") nicht registrierte pont. *ζευλίδ(ιν)* zurück. 136: *ayto* "Vogelscheuche" ist doch das überall verbreitete ngr. *σκιάχτρο* "ds.". 137: *falambir* "kleine Schachtel" ist wegen seiner Lautung und vor allem wegen *mb* < *mn* aus ngr. *φλαμ(μ)ούρι* "Linde, Lindenholz" < mgr. *φλάμμουρον* (vgl. mgr. ngr. *φλάμμουρο* "Kriegsfahne" < lat. *flammulum*) zu erklären; Lindenholz wurde bekanntlich u.a. auch zur Herstellung von kleinen Schachteln usw. benützt. 142: *ağdırmit*, *akdırmit*, *akdimlit*, *aldimnit*, *adilimit* "eine Weintraubensorte" führen meinem Sprachgefühl nach direkt auf ngr. *αγιοδημητριάτικο* (sc. *σταφύλι*) "*ds."; ich nehme an, dass es um eine Weintraubenart geht, die erst im Oktober, der auch *Αγιοδημητριάτης* volkstümlich heisst, reif wird; zur Bedeutungsentwicklung vgl. ngr. *αγιοδημητριάτικο* "Chrysanthemum, Goldblume", weil sie erst im Oktober blüht, Demetrakos 27, weiter *αγιοργίτης* o "Osterlamm, das am Tag des Ἅγιος Γεώργιος geschlachtet wird" Demetrakos 29, usw.; durch eine solche Annahme sind sowohl *ak-* < *ἅγιος* (sonst im Tü. *ak* "weiss" als auch *al-* < *αγι* (vgl. *Αγι Στράτης*) ON *Αλιστράτης* sonst tü. *al* "dunkelrot") erklärbar. 156: *kamne* "die Frontseite des Herdes" setzt ein ngr. *καμινιά* voraus, das in der Bedeutung "der Inhalt des Herdes" bezeugt ist (Lex. Proias 1255). 161: georg. *kanči* "Unterschenkel" ist wohl mit ngr. *κανί* "ds." < lat. *canna* "Schilf, Schilfrohr" zu verbinden; *kanči* stützt wahrscheinlich auf einem ngr. bzw. pont. Dim. **κανίτσιν* "Unterschenkel", das aus spätlat. *cannicius* (<*canna*) "einem Schilfrohr ähnlich, * Unterschenkel" (vgl. auch *canneus*, s. für beide lat. Wörter A. Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D., Oxford 1957, 37) kommt; *cannicius*

wird in der Bedeutung "aus Schilfrohren hergestellt" bezeugt. 182: *katalavengos*, *katalavengos* "hast du verstanden?" ist wegen seiner typisch spanischen Endung auf *-engo* eine hybride Bildung und gehört zum Sprachgut der griechischen Juden, die aus Spanien nach Griechenland gekommen sind. 186: *kadahana* "unersättlich, gierig" hat offensichtlich hier die primäre Bedeutung des gr. καταχανάς "ds." < καταχαίνω "bodenlos, unersättlich sein", während die des Vampirs sekundär ist. 188: da ngr. κάστινας, o "Ochsenstachel" keine sichere Etymologie aus dem Griechischen zu haben scheint, wurde ich es lieber aus tü. *caçma* "Ochsenstachel" DS 2587 ableiten, das ein Derivat von tü. *kaçmak*, mundartlich *kaçmâğ* "treiben/koçmak" DS 2587 ist. 212: *kuyis*, *kuyis* "Geschrei" beruhen wohl auf der 3. Person Sing. des pont. Verbs: *κοιῖς* "schreit". 214: die dreisilbigen *kokarcık*, *kukarca* "Steckzwiebel" sind vielleicht den zweisilbigen *goğer*, *goğer* usw. gegenüber aus ngr. κοκκαρικά (vgl. σπορικά, φορετικά usw.) zu erklären. 216: *koğusa* "Husten", *goguca* "Keuchhusten" beruhen eher auf einem pont. *κοχούσα "ds." < κοχ (κοχ-ίζω "husten" Papadopoulos LP 1, 493) + Suffix -ούσα, das im Pontischen (z.B. λεχούσα/λοχούσα, πρεπούσα usw.) sowie im übrigen Griechisch nicht selten ist. 219: *kalembe* "Olivenart" geht auf den Pl. κολυμπάδες zurück. 225: die Lautung der Formen *köfiter*, *köfîr*, *kovter*, *köyter* "Art Kuchen" setzt ein ngr. κοφτάρι oder viel eher ein pont. κοφτάρ "ds." voraus, das Papadopoulos LP 1, 492 nur als eine aktive Bildung "scharf (für Messer)" belegt hat; vgl. 226. 236: *kosu*, *kosi* "Bruthenne" gehen auf das pont. κοσσού/κωσσού, η "ds." Papadopoulos LP 1, 472, 506 zurück. 261: *kofün* "Flanke" setzt wegen seiner Vokale der vorderen Reihe wenigstens eine Anlehnung an ngr. κοῦφος "leer" voraus. 304: die abweichenden Formen *söylez*, *seyaz* "Bohme" sind aus dem Akk. Pl. τοὺς λοβούς zu erklären. 326: im Fall von *mayis* "Balken, die den Dachrand bilden" kann ich aus semantischen und morphologischen Gründen nur an ein gr. *στεγομάχος (vgl. die zahlreichen agr. Bildungen auf -μάχος: πυρομάχος, τειχομάχος, θηριομάχος, ριγομάχος usw.) denken, das ich allerdings in der Bedeutung des Balkens, der das Dach stützt z.Z. nicht belegen kann. 327: *meñgez*, *meñgez*, *menlez* "tonhaltige Erde" beruhen wohl auf einer ngr. Dialektform *μελαγγειές, οἱ Pl. von *μελαγγιά, η "Schwarzerde". 330: *meson* "dickes Kantholz usw." beruht auf pont. μέσον (sc. δοκάρiv). 343: für die abweichende Form *sudul* "Eisenspitze am Ende des Ochsenstachels" ist vielleicht eine Kontamination von μουτούλ + σίδερο "Eisen" oder von *mudul* + *sırık* "Stab" anzunehmen. 379: *ayot* (Rize) "kleine Insel in der Mitte eines Wasserlaufs" könnte als tsakonisches Sprachgut aus agr. νασιδίτις (d.h. γῆ) "ds." < dor. νῆσος "Insel" kommen. 390: die erste Bedeutung "List, Lüge" von *barabat* führt auf ngr. παραπάτημα "absichtlicher Fehltritt, Ausgleiten", die zweite "Methode, Lebensart" auf ngr. περπάτημα "Schritt, Gang, Art und Weise des Lebens" zurück; die Annahme einer Bedeutungsentwicklung "Fischnetz > List" erübrigt sich in diesem Fall. 413: *pinavun*, *pinavluk* "Wintervorrat" sind auf pont. πινάβου, η "Holzschüssel" zurückzuführen, das in Papadopoulos LP 2, 193 unter πινακού fehlt; da sich ein Wandel *k>v* weder im Griechischen noch im Türkischen erklären lässt, ist es für πινάβου an eine Kontamination mit pont. πινακόπον zu denken oder besser eine Abschwächung *-k- > -ğ- > v* von *-k-* in πινακού, πινακέα "die Quantität einer Schussel", πινάκiv usw. anzunehmen, wobei sich an der Stelle des ausgefallenen *-k-* ein *-v-* (nämlich *πιναού > πινάβου) entwickelt hat; durch eine solche Annahme lässt sich auch *pinean* aus dem pont. Akk. πινακέαν erklären. 426: *poyra*, *boyra*, *bayra*. *porya*, *borya*, *parya*, *barya* "Radnabe" verweisen meiner Schätzung nach auf ngr. πόρυα. πόγυρα < απόγυρα, τα (Adj. απόγυρος "in rundlicher Form, rundlich) in der Bedeutung "Radnabe", die ich heute nicht belegen kann, vgl. απογυρίζω, πογυρίζω, πουρίζω "im Kreis gehen, herumgehen" Andriotis LA 131, weiter απόγυρα, απογύρι, απογυριά, απογυρίζω usw. Demetrakos 772; dasselbe

gr. Wort (ἀπόγυρα/πόυρα) in einer ähnlichen Bedeutung “*Rad der Wassermühle” liegt dem *poŷra* “ds.” zugrunde. Davon sind die Formen abzutrennen, die entweder “Mühlgerinne” (*boyra, boyla*) oder “unterirdische Wasserröhre” (*poŷra, boyra, poŷre, pōŷre*) bedeuten; die Formen dieser semantischen Gruppe gehen auf ngr. νεροποριά “Wasserdurchgang” oder ποριά, η “Wasserdurchgang” Demetrakos 6009 zurück, vgl. hier gr. πόρος, ο “Durchgang, Ausgang, Öffnung, kleiner See (pont.) usw.” Andriotis LA 461. Eine letzte semantische Gruppe von Formen, die “Loch, durch das das Wasser auf das Mühlrad fließt” (*bore, boyla*) oder “Trichter am Ende des Wasserzulaufs zum Betrieb der Mühle” (*poŷra, boyra, pōrū, pōŷre*) bedeuten, beruhen wahrscheinlich auf ngr. ποριά, τα, Pl. von πορί, το “Engpass, Röhre, Wasserengpass usw.”, das Dim. zu πόρος, ist; es ist dabei zu bemerken, dass *pōrū* kein inlautendes *y* aufweist, weil es auf dem Sing. πορί beruht; hierzu gehört m.E. auch *boru* “Röhre, Trichter” der Schriftsprache, das mit *pōrū* semantisch und morphologisch zusammenfällt. 427: *bere, prere* “Bewässerungsfurche” ist mit ποριά, η unter 426 zu verbinden, so sind auch die Bedeutungen “Tür, Eingang”, “weiblicher Geschlechtsteil”, die in Andriotis LA 461 unter πορεία, η stehen, auf ngr. ποριά, η zurückzuführen; entsprechend ist πορεύω “einen Durchgang öffnen” a.a.O. als eine Ableitung von πόρος, ο/ποριά, η als ποριάω zu schreiben. 430: *fongu* “Geldschatulle” beruht auf ngr. πουγγί, το “ds.”, das im griechischen Stichwort fehlt. 445: *pilo* “Eselfüllen” setzt ein ngr. πωλί(v) voraus. 448: *rokopi, rokobi* “Maispflänzling” setzt vielleicht ein pont. *ροκοπίδ “ds.” voraus. 459: *soktopi, suhtopi* “Kohlen und Glut” sind auf ein pont. σαχτώπη (sc. φωτιά) “ds.” zurückzuführen. 469: *şalika* usw. “Geißelrappen” beruhen auf einem pont. *şafalıka, η (oder *şafolopánika, η “ds.”, vgl. pont. *şafolopánin, το “ds.” Papadopoulos LP 2, 268) < pont. σάφαλα “Speichel”. 470: *siğil* “Tierspuren auf lehmigen Wegen” ist mit mgr. σιγίλλιον zu verbinden, das vor allem in der Kirchensprache mit der Bedeutung “Siegel einer kirchlichen Behörde, mit diesem Siegel versehene Urkunde” üblich ist; die mittel- und ngr. Bedeutung “Zeichen, Spur” ist aus der gleichen Bedeutung seines lat. Vorbilds *sigillum* “ds.” zu erschliessen. 481: *çalar* “ungenießbare Fischart mit stacheligem Rücken” ist vielleicht mit ngr. γυλάρι, γύλος zu verbinden. 497: pont. τζουπί “Werg, Stöpsel”, das auf dem ganzen pontischen Gebiet verbreitet ist und auch bei Papadopoulos LP 2, 392 zu finden ist, ist offensichtlich aus Versehen mit *versehen. 503: *şafiz* “Speichel, der aus dem Mund fließt” entspricht gerade der pont. 3. Person Sing. des Praesens: şafalıç, “spuckt schaumigen Speichel”. 533: *durdur* “Turteltaube” kann als lautnachahmende Bildung unabhängig von ngr. τουρτούρα sein. 551: *fiçiko, fiçiko* “Flaschenkürbis” kann auch auf einem ngr. βουτσικό, το zu βουτοί “Wasserbehälter” (vgl. unter 563 φορετικό, usw.) beruhen. 567: *fus-kulu, fiskil, fiskil* “Brandblase” gehen auf pont. φουσκούλ’ “Blase” (Papadopoulos LP 2, 467) zurück; tü ş ist mit Anlehnung an pont. φουσκίν “Blase” offenbar entstanden. 528: *hoholis* usw. “durcheinander/karmakarışık” kann eher mit pont. χοχόλιν “Kehricht (Papadopoulos LP 2, 528) verbunden werden, das nicht griechischen Ursprungs ist. 591: *kınraşık, kınraşıl* “Eidechse” ist mit einer gr. Form *χλωροσαύριον “ds.” zu verbinden: *kınra*-lässt sich mit Anlehnung an *kınırnak* “drehen (hier: den Schwanz)” erklären.

Die oben angeführten wenigen Bemerkungen und Erläuterungen, die im Vergleich zu dem behandelten reichen Wortmaterial, das sich auf über 20 Sprachen bezieht, nicht mehr als ein Tropfen im Ozean sind, beabsichtigen keineswegs - können ja auch nicht - den Wert des besprochenen Buches zu mindern. Der Verf. hat auf einem besonders schwierigen Gebiet gewissenhaft gearbeitet, das gute Kenntnisse sowohl der neugriechischen als auch der anatolischen Dialekte voraussetzt, und zum besseren Verständnis der griechisch-türkischen Sprach-

beziehungen beigetragen. Tzitzilis gehört der jüngeren griechischen Generation von Sprachwissenschaftlern an und verspricht viel für die Balkanlinguistik, die in Griechenland noch keine Tradition hat und erst in den Siebzigerjahren sich aus laienhaften Anfängen zu einem wissenschaftlichen Fach zu wandeln versucht.

Universität Thessaloniki

CH. SYMEONIDIS

Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, Constantinos D. Svolopoulos, Béla K. Király (eds.), *War and Society in East Central Europe, Vol. XXIII: Southeast European Maritime Commerce and Naval Policies from the Mid-Eighteenth Century to 1914*. Social Sciences Monographs (Boulder, Colorado: Atlantic Research and Publications, Highland Lakes; Co-Publisher, Institute for Balkan Studies: Thessaloniki, Greece; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1988), 410+XVI pp. Biographical index.

This collection of papers was presented at the Seventeenth Symposium held in Thessaloniki under the auspices of the Brooklyn College Program on Society and Change in East Central Europe, in cooperation with the Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, Greece. The study covers primarily southeastern Europe, that is, the geographical area between the Lower Danube and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The articles published in the volume are the work of twenty-four contributors from Greece (10) the United States and Canada (8), Bulgaria (3), and (1) respectively from Italy, Austria, and Hungary. They examine the diverse aspects of political and economic history, maritime commerce and navigation, naval policy and strategy, riverine trade, cities and ports, commercial companies and traders, relations among the peoples and nations and their interaction to the development of the region, the role of the European powers, and, finally, the effects of war and trade on society from about 1740 to 1914.

The work is divided into seven sections. It opens with a succinct and pointed introduction by the eminent historian of Balkan history, Professor Stephen Fischer-Galati, on the maritime commerce and the Balkans before the French Revolution, setting the stage for the general treatment of the topics in the volume. It further examines the commercial and naval policy of France and Great Britain in the Balkans, particularly the area of the Ottoman empire, from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of World War I. The next section deals with the history of Danubian navigation, the role of Austria-Hungary, and the commercial activity on the Lower Danube along Romania and Bulgaria. The following portion takes up the creation of the Greek commercial navy in the 19th century and navigation and trade in the Adriatic, Ionian, and Black Seas and the Mediterranean. The next six articles discuss the role of the ports of Trieste, Thessaloniki, Syra, and Smyrna and their commercial and economic importance. The following segment analyzes the Greek contribution to maritime law, Austrian quarantine reform, piracy during the Greek war of independence, and the role of the U.S. navy in the Aegean during the same period. The last concluding article reviews major works on maritime war, trade, the geopolitical setting, and issues that influenced the course of history of this pivotal region of Southeastern Europe from 1740 to 1920.

Most of the studies in the collection utilize archival sources, unknown until now, secondary works, or general bibliographies. The contributors from the United States, Canada,

Greece, Italy, Austria, and Eastern bloc participants in the symposium present diverse opinions, different disciplines and languages, interpretations, schools of thought, and level of research and standards of scholarship, making the work a valuable contribution to the maritime commerce and naval history of the countries of Central and Southeastern Europe. Several articles include varied statistical information and other useful data on trade, volume of export-import commodities, money transaction, price study formation, commercial and shipping companies, merchant fleet, sailing vessels, steamers, ships, passengers, tonnage of goods loaded and unloaded on principal ports, and other bits of interesting facts which enhance the scholarly presentation of the study.

There are several fine papers which offer penetrating analysis. Barry Dennis Hunt's study "The Eastern Question in British Naval Policy and Strategy, 1789-1913", presents a balanced discussion of Britain's naval and strategic interests and dilemmas on the perplexing issues concerning the Eastern Question and the fate of the Ottoman empire. Elena Frangakis's paper on "The Port of Smyrna in the Nineteenth Century" is a documented research study focusing on the commercial activities of the port of Smyrna with France, England, and the United States, the latter being "particularly active in the Smyrna trade" and "in 1832 accounted for 49.1% of its imports". However, it would be interesting to add that American ships were also among the principal carriers of cargoes of opium (the opium poppy was cultivated in Asia Minor), loaded from the port of Smyrna and subsequently transported to China, leading to the Opium Wars in 1840's and 1850's between China and Britain, in which the United States, including other European powers, played an active part. Spiridon G. Focas's study on "The Greeks and Navigation on the Lower Danube, 1789-1913", is an account of bygone years, describing the bustling commercial activity of Greek captains and merchants—including the author's grandparents and parents—in the Romanian ports, from the Iron Gates to the Black Sea. But events following the Balkan wars in 1913, led to the decline and, immediately after World War II, to the end of Greek presence in the Romanian city-ports of Braila, Galați, and Constanța.

There are, however, some observations and comments which must be offered. Most of the articles in the collection deal mainly with Greece, Bulgaria, the Habsburg empire (Hungary), the Lower Danube and the Ottoman empire in its southeastern extension along the Mediterranean. There are no contributions from Romanian, Serbian, or Turkish specialists, and studies about these countries are partially contributed by other participants in the symposium. This was obviously not a deliberate omission by the organizers of the symposium; nevertheless, contributions by historians and specialists from these countries would have perhaps improved the scope of the work as a whole.

A few of the articles written by specialists from East European countries appear rather overly political and inaccurate in their historical interpretation. Simion Damianov's article on "French Commerce with the Bulgarian Territories from the Eighteenth century to 1914", presents an interesting case. The author considers France the "oldest and most traditional trading partner" with the "Bulgarian lands" [*Bŭlgarskite zemi*]. For Damianov the "Bulgarian lands" comprised a large territory, which included Rumelia (southeastern region), the coast of the Black Sea, northern Bulgaria, inclusive the province of Dobrudja (p. 18), and the entire region of Macedonia and Thrace—from Thessaloniki to Kavalla, Alexandroupolis (Dedeagach) and beyond! (p. 24, Table 2). (Was it the Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty of 1878, which the author implies in the article?). Bulgaria was actually part of the Ottoman empire, throughout much of the 19th century, became an autonomous principality in 1878, and proclaimed its independence in 1908. If France carried an intensive trade, it was with

such cities and ports as Thessaloniki, Kavalla, Constantinople, Smyrna, the Levant area, and Egypt. It is therefore fair to assume that the "Bulgarian lands"—part of this empire, did not play as prominent a role in the overall trade with France and Western Europe as, the author suggests or attempts to prove in his study. Similarly, he is inaccurate in another of his assertions that "in the course of a century and a half France by her commercial activity contributed to the integration of the Bulgarian economy into the system of European capitalism, and hence, to Bulgaria's entrance to the modern world economy". To the contrary, one can argue that Bulgaria, and indeed most of the Balkan countries, did not develop any viable capitalist economy, nor did she become part of the European capitalist system in the 19th century, or even in the 20th century. The Bulgarian economy remained basically agrarian and Bulgaria remained the most typical peasant country of southeastern Europe until mid-1940's and beyond. In fact, prior to 1914, wheat was Bulgaria's main agricultural product and the principal article of export. The industrial sector was almost non-existent. Following this line of reasoning, he goes on to say that "by this [commercial activity between France and Bulgaria], were prepared, consciously or not, the conditions for the speedy liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman domination". This is a general statement without providing any evidence how France had any part in bringing about "the speedy liberation of Bulgaria". A close look at the course of France's history during the second half of the 19th century would suggest otherwise. One may even ask: What was, then, Russia's role in the liberation of the "Bulgarian lands" from the Turks during the Russo-Turkish war in 1878? Lastly, a careful historian will dispute his claim that "the growing importance of the Bulgarian lands for Western commerce was one of the causes for France and England to oppose dismemberment of the Ottoman empire during the Crimean War". It is not the place here to recount the background of the Crimean war and its economic, political, military, and religious causes which precipitated this major European conflict in 1853-1856. Suffice to say that, if the two Western powers upheld the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire, it was not because of the economic importance of "the Bulgarian lands for Western commerce", but rather, because England and France joined forces to stop Russian expansion in the direction of Southeastern Europe and the Near East. The economic or commercial importance of the "Bulgarian lands" did not have any direct influence on France's and England's stand in preserving the Ottoman empire.

There are some errors and inconsistencies in the collection which might confuse a student or the general reader. The Treaty of Paris (1856), ending the Crimean War, is referred to as the Congress of Paris. Spelling names in English presents another problem. For example, the name *Kuchuk Kainardji*, referring to the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1774, is spelled differently more than five times! Other words and names are misspelled or spelled variously throughout the collection. A uniform spelling of names in English would have eliminated such confusion.

These observations do not, in any way, minimize the importance of the study. The collection is a pioneering effort by American and European scholars and specialists on a topic that can lead to further studies and research, on regional or national level, about a subject which is of common interest among the peoples and countries of Central and Southeastern Europe. Browsing through the pages of the collection, the reader will be carried way back, to another era of bygone glories, great empires and leaders, successful merchants and brave captains, famous companies and cities, busy ports and bustling rivers, open seas and sailing ships, large steamers and barges cruising through the Blue Danube and sailing across the

Black Sea, the Adriatic, Ionian and Aegean Seas, and the Mediterranean. Their history is aptly captured in the pages of this book on war and society in Central East and Southeastern Europe.

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JAMES J. FARSOLAS

Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, paperback edition, 1988, p. 452.

All too often in the past, accounts of Balkan politics have suffered from stereotyping and condescending disparagement. Yet the complexity of the region, stemming from the ethnic and religious diversity of the peoples, the tangled demographic conditions and the historical vicissitudes of state and social development make the study of political life here a rewarding experience for the patient and discerning observer. And among the interesting societies in the Balkans none is more striking than the Yugoslav multinational state. It is a subject that is bound to elicit emotion and even passion. The author of this work is well aware of this as he issues his own caveat to those who read his study.

The Triune Kingdom was born in controversy and emotion out of war and political upheaval. Rather than recount the political maneuvering that went into the creation of the state edifice, Banac focuses on the political groups among the South Slavs and their historically conditioned ideas and ideals that became ideologies in the crucible of the Great War.

Before proceeding to the detailed account of the political personalities and their parties, which confronted one another as Yugoslavia took form, the author reaches back in time to delineate the broader forces that shaped the complex world of the South Slav lands and peoples. The role of religion, territory, language, and social estates are examined in the shaping of culture and national identities. Rather than searching for "purity" (whatever that dangerous term connotes) and fixed identities among the peoples of the area, the author correctly emphasizes the alterations societies underwent through demographic developments such as migrations, whether voluntary or enforced by overlords. But the notion of "nations" and "national consciousness" formed and existing before the development of nationalist ideology and politics based on it, is asserted by Banac. Through the centuries of development by the South Slavs, especially with regard to the Croatian political leadership during the nineteenth century, the author is really dealing with high culture and intellectuals when describing the "national consciousness" of the various peoples.

The bulk of the book is an extensive and extended examination of the personalities, their groups, and their political objectives, which were the basis of the paradox that became the multinational Yugoslav state in an era of nationalist demands. All groups are given their due, which is one of the author's real contributions to the history of Yugoslavia. However, the study focuses on the Serbs and their supporters in their drive to create a unitary, centralized state and the opposition, primarily by the Croat political leaders, to such a vision. The strength and weaknesses in the character of political figures, the position of their parties when dealing with each other, and the tactics adopted by them are described and assessed, often with a biting turn of phrase,

The thrust of Banac's lengthy narrative comes down to demonstrating that a determined but shortsighted Serbian political leadership erected a constitutional structure that did not accommodate the concerns of the other South Slav nations. The author has his likes and dislikes for personalities and parties, as in his trenchant criticism of the Serbian National Radical Party and its leader, Nikola Pasic. Behind Banac's treatment of this critical era in Yugoslav history is his firm belief that the South Slav nationalities could come together and cooperate fruitfully "...only if each of them was fully autonomous in its own house." (p. 16). With the recent developments taking place in the country, perhaps this condition may now arise. Yet, the issue is not simple, as the author would no doubt agree. But is not a dark problem either. Which is all the more reason for those interested in the politics of small states to read this volume.

University of South Carolina

GERASIMOS AUGUSTINOS

Ivo Banac, *With Stalin, Against Tito. Cominformist Splits in Yugoslav Communism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988, pp. xvi+294.

While this work is primarily a study of Yugoslav Cominformism it also provides the reader with a general overview of all the factional movements which plagued the Yugoslav Party prior to 1952. At the same time its analysis of the Cominformist and Popular Front deviations amounts to a triumph of historical scholarship.

Cominformism, we learn, was basically a Serb and Montenegrin phenomenon. Percentage-wise the strength of the movement was greatest in Montenegro but in absolute terms it was strongest in Serbia proper. Yet its true home appeared nonetheless to be the extended family of the Dinaric Alps. These concentrations greatly magnified the Cominformist threat to the unity of the CPY, for both Tito's original army, the one destroyed in southern Serbia in 1941, as well as that subsequently created in the Dinarics by the Ustasha massacres, were basically Serb formations, not to mention the over-representation of the Serbs from the quondam Austrian military frontier in the ranks of the Croatian Partisans. Cominformism was thus an intra-Serbian quarrel and as many as a fifth of Party members turned out to be Cominformists at the time of the breach with Moscow in 1948.

In its effort to master this most dangerous threat the Party was thrown (1948-1952) into a spasm of control by terror, one analogous to the Great Terror which began with the forcible collectivization of Soviet agriculture in 1928. For the threat of a Cominformist underground Party guided from Moscow was greatly amplified by the massing of Soviet satellite armies deployed along Yugoslavia's long eastern frontier. The two threats together made possible the creation by the CPY of an enormous bureaucracy controlling, in minute detail, economic as well as political life. The new controls were consolidated in 1949 by the introduction of Soviet *oblasti* within the republics at both state and Party levels, thus diminishing the importance of the federal organization of the country. Simultaneously camps were organized for holding Party comrades suspected of Cominformism and subjecting them to humiliation and torture from which the only escape lay in confession and conversion to Titoism, as visibly demonstrated by their enthusiastic participation in the torture of the unrepentant.

If Cominformism was a Serb heresy and a deviation on the left, Popular Frontism proved to be the rightist deviation peculiar to Croat and Slovene Partisans, a deformation against which Tito and his colleagues had had to struggle particularly during the years of Partisan resistance to Axis military occupation. Popular Frontism embodied the notion that the Partisan struggle aimed not at the seizure of sole power by the CPY but instead at the creation within Yugoslavia of parliamentary government rooted in a market economy, both within the framework of a genuine ethnic federalism. Meanwhile the Partisan movement was to be made up of an association of different entities, e.g. the Croatian Communist Party, the Croatian Peasant Party, the representation of the *prečani* minority, and so on, each unit retaining its internal autonomy in preparation for post-war pluralism. The legitimacy of the Communist movement among the Catholic populations of Yugoslavia depended, in Banac's view, on the acceptability of the Popular Front.

The leader of the Croatian Popular Front was Andrija Hebrang, a man who held that a Federal Yugoslavia and a free Croatia were interdependent elements. To be sure, Hebrang found himself constantly embroiled with the supreme leader, whether he attempted to create a Partisan government in Croatia, or a regular system of courts there, or a separate Croatian news agency. In 1944, on the eve of final Partisan victory, Tito replaced Hebrang with the Party loyalist Vladimir Bakaric and, in 1948, with the final exchange of correspondence between Moscow and Belgrade he had Hebrang arrested as a traitor. The Croatian died in prison in 1949, under mysterious circumstances.

As the reader will have divined from these two key examples, *With Stalin, Against Tito* is a formidable work of scholarship. The bibliography is 15 pages in length. While the bulk of the sources are in Serbo-Croatian, of which Professor Banac is a native speaker, the footnotes are also home to works in Slovene, Slavo-Macedonian, Bulgarian and Russian, not to mention such non-Slavic tongues as Albanian. The Yugoslav government statistics on the strength and distribution of the Cominformists which Banac has dug up are astonishing. Striking also is his ability to exploit popular literature dealing with Party matters prior to 1952 as a reliable additional source: what could not be published as history was passed by the censors in novels and short stories.

Had this reviewer been asked beforehand, he would have thought such a work as *With Stalin, Against Tito* could not have been written in the reviewer's lifetime. Future research may modify this feature or that of the Banac presentation but the analysis as a whole represents a unique accomplishment which will stand on its own.

Wayne State University Emeritus

R. V. BURKS

Amikam Nachmani, *Israel, Turkey and Greece. Uneasy Relations in the East Mediterranean*. Totowa, N. J.: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1987. x, 124 pp., index.

Nachmani's book begins with the premise that despite certain common characteristics shared by the three countries, a "triangle" does not exist in the region in the absence of common policies among the three states. Relations among them tend to be of the bilateral variety, involving attempts by two states to cooperate against the third. The conflict between Greece and Turkey over the Aegean and Cyprus, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Greek

and Turkish attempts to court the Arabs, negate any possibility of long term cooperation among the three states. Thus, unless these problems are resolved, they will continue to complicate the relations of these three states.

Most of the book is devoted to the role of Eliyahu Sasson and the first Israeli legation in Ankara from 1949-1952, as well as to an overall assessment of Turkish-Israeli relations from 1948 to 1958. Nachmani discusses how the Israeli legation in Ankara became the center of contacts with other Middle Eastern countries, and for gathering strategic and other security related intelligence. There were other reasons for Israel's interest in Turkey in that time period. Turkey was a muslim but non-Arab state. It had an important strategic and international position that was valued by both superpowers, and participated in three major Western alliances. Turkey was concerned from early on about infringements of her sovereignty by Israel, and was suspicious of Israel's neutral attitude toward the USSR during the cold war. However, Turkey believed that close ties with Israel would bring the support of the Israeli lobby in the U.S. and of the U.S. media on behalf of Turkey's economic, political and strategic interests. Israel did not try to change this Turkish perception.

The two chapters devoted to Turkey provide fascinating perspectives on the roots of Israel's Middle East policy, and on the question of whether peace with the Arabs could be achieved through a balance of force or negotiation. The former school appears to have prevailed. These observations as to the internal policy debates in Israel have relevance to the situation today. The book also provides some tantalizing insights on U.S. - Israeli relations, and insightful assessments by Israeli diplomats of Turkish and Greek diplomatic and negotiating behavior. Israel's tilting towards Turkey in the Cyprus problem is attributed by Nachmani to the "Turkish heritage" of many members of the Israeli policy establishment; to Israel's assessment of Turkey's importance, and to the chilly relations Israel maintained with Greece. In the case of Cyprus the Israeli policy establishment debated in the early 1950's Israel's commitment to self-determination and its moral obligations toward the Cypriots for all the help they had extended to Jews as they prepared for independence. Realpolitik however prevailed at the end.

"So near and yet so far" is the title of the chapter devoted to Israel's relations with Greece, a title accurately describing Israeli-Greek relations to this day. The author stresses that relations between the two states are characterized by aloofness verging on enmity since 1949. This basic pattern has undergone no change, either for the better or for the worse, despite the absence of substantial grounds for discord, and the presence of many common elements such as their democratic aspirations, their western cultural and political systems and geographic proximity. Israel attributes its problems with Greece since 1949 to the Greek ignorance of the Middle East, and to the absence of concrete interests in the area on the part of Greece, other than the concern over the Orthodox Church in Palestine and the Greek minority in Egypt.

Nachmani provides various examples of Greek "hostile" actions since the late 1940's. He also briefly touches on some interesting examples of early attempts at cooperation between the Greek and the Jewish lobbies in the U.S. However, Israel's efforts to gain Greece's diplomatic recognition through U.S. influence on Athens ultimately failed. Thus, Israel's disappointment has led to a scaling down of relations, often reaching a level of outspoken antagonism. By 1952, Israel considered Greece as an "enemy", and put the burden on any improvement in their bilateral relations on Greece. The Israeli attempt to barter favors with Greece over Cyprus, i.e. support for Cyprus v. recognition, failed in view of the strength of

the Arabs at the U.N. and Israel's tilt toward Turkey. Even though since the early 1950's, Greece maintains that *de jure* recognition is only a formality, relations have yet to be normalized. During the last two years of the Papandreou administration, Greece, under European Community pressure, came close to a *de jure* recognition of Israel. The formal decision was once more postponed because of the *intifadah*.

This insightful book is based primarily on Israeli archival material, because no access is possible to Greek and Turkish archives of the period. The book appears to be a combination of separate papers written by the author, and this is evident in the overlap in the two chapters devoted to Turkish-Israeli relations. The book's main problem is its poor editing. A good editor would have insisted on a brief conclusion along the lines of the introduction, which should have included some of Nachmani's projections on the relations of the three states after 1958. A conclusion would have been useful to integrate the material in this book. There is a sprinkling of additional information on post-1958 events that does not add to the coherence of the book. Again, this is primarily an editorial problem that undermines what essentially is a serious contribution to a long neglected area in the foreign policies of Greece, Turkey and Israel. Despite this weakness, the book should be read by anyone interested in the region.

Indiana University-Purdue University

VAN COUFOUDAKIS

Abstracts

NIKOLAOS PANTAZOPOULOS

HUMAN LIBERTIES IN THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY GREEK COMMUNITY SYSTEM

On the occasion of the second centenary of the French Revolution, it is interesting to examine how far its declarations affected Greeks, in view of the fact that human liberties—or those which we usually refer to as civil rights—were born in Greece itself, a country which, at the end of the eighteenth century, was groaning beneath the boot-heel of the Ottoman conqueror.

One precondition of the exercise of human liberties is the possibility of belonging to a group on an individual or a collective basis. This right was recognised for the first time in the history of European civilisation by Solon, whose legislation extended it—originally the exclusive prerogative of the eupatrides (who were bound by common blood into phratries)—to other classes of free individuals, who were connected by bonds of common space (*demes*) and common interests (*orgeones*, *thiasi*, and sailors).

It was thus that the beginning of the sixth century saw the establishment of the polity of conciliation, whose consensus processes made the concept of Democracy a reality; for every citizen had access to the public offices, and thus felt himself to be an organic part of the city-state.

Since then human liberties have been in both theory and practice inseparably bound up with the democratic system. And when it declines or disappears, they suffer.

Turning our investigation to the period of Turkish domination, we realise that even at this time of oppression, on the basis of the traditional common law of the privilege system, favourable conditions had been created for the development of human liberties. Each community was an autonomous taxation unit operating on the basis of the mutual interests of the conquerors and the conquered. Being jointly responsible for the payment of taxes, the members of each community soon developed systems of mutual dependency and self-administration, by which every member, in accordance with the representative system, had access to the governing processes of the communi-

ties as subsidiary power centres. He could be elected to community offices, elect those who handled the taxes, and above all check up on them, both in the exercise of their duties and, above all, when their year of service ended.

Evidence from Serres (1614), Mykonos (1615 and 1659), Smyrna (1785), Hydra (1804-18), and Meleniko (1813), reveals that the enslaved *rayahs* had begun to enjoy civil rights in the form I have described, some 200 years before the French Revolution; yet in the Venetian dominated Ionian Islands, despite their direct contact with the West, only the nobility had civil rights before the nineteenth century.

On the basis of the community experience in the period of Turkish domination, Rhigas Velestinlis came out firmly in favour of the declarations of the French Revolution. In his Constitution (1797), however, he surpassed them, for he accorded civil rights not only to individuals but also to groups, irrespective of racial, religious, or linguistic criteria. He thus anticipated articles 22, 23, and 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which, like Rhigas, grant civil liberties to societies and communities.

C. M. WOODHOUSE

THE MACEDONIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE OF RHIGAS

Rhigas' intention was not only an armed rebellion of the Greeks against Ottoman rule but also a social, cultural and moral revolution of their lives. He wanted to liberate not only the Greeks but all the peoples of southern Europe and the Near East, including the Turks, from the Sultan's despotism. This is apparent from his early publications—literary, scientific, geographical, historical, religious—as well as his later revolutionary *Thourios*, and the Proclamation and Constitution based on the French revolutionary model.

His interrogation by the Austrian police after his arrest in December 1797 showed that Macedonian influences on his ecumenical vision were strong. His aspirations were stimulated by the political ideas as well as the conquests of Alexander the Great. His secret contacts inside Greece were predominantly located in the north—Macedonia, Epiros, and his native Thessaly—as well as the islands. About half of his known close associates in Vienna were of Macedonian origin; and several of them were handed over with him to be executed by the Turks.

Rhigas' revolutionary ambitions were frustrated, partly because he was

unable to enlist the help of the French (particularly Napoleon) and partly because he was betrayed. Ironically, even his betrayer was a Macedonian. Like other Greeks, the Macedonians were divided for and against his memory in the generation after his death. Only in the mid-19th century did all controversy end with a universal verdict in his favour as a poet, liberator and martyr.

MÁRTA NAGY

ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΠΟΣ (MIKLÓS JANKOVICZ) ca. 1750-1817 AND HIS WOOD-CARVER'S WORKSHOP IN EGER

In the wood-carver's workshop of ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΠΟΣ were prepared the iconostasion of the St. Nicolas Church in Eger, the Holy Trinity Church in Miskolc, the Assumption of God's Mother in Budapest and the St. George Church in Karcag. Three iconostasions were signed with his Christian name and surnames and one with only his initials. We know very little about the life of Miklós Jankovicz, the wood-carver. There are only a few archival documents and the inscriptions on his works that indicate some events of his life. His iconostasions are outstanding works of art. They bear the marks of the late Baroque style and the style of the Classicism. He was not only one of the most skilled orthodox wood-carvers in Hungary, but the most talented builder of iconostasions as well.

ROXANE D. ARGYROPOULOS

A 19th CENTURY GREEK SCHOLAR IN BUCHAREST:
MIHAIL CHRISTARIS AND HIS LIBRARY

In the end of the 18th century many young men from Epirus went to Bucharest in order to complete their studies. Among them was Mihail Christaris (Jannina 1773-Athens 1851?) who became a medical doctor and lived in Bucharest for more than twenty years, playing a prominent part in cultural life and later in the preparation of the Greek War of Independence. His translation of the *Traité élémentaire de morale et de bonheur* of Jean-Zacharie Paradis de Raymond, in which he adds his own notes, and his *Catechism of the*

Main Social Duties (Bucharest 1831) make him an upholder of the French Revolution's liberalism in Southeastern Europe. His library, rich in rare as also in more recent books, offered by him to Theophilos Kairis' school in Andros gives us the inclinations of his personality.

STOYNA POROMANSKA

LOANWORDS IN THE GREEK LANGUAGE

After some theoretical thoughts the phenomenon of introducing cultural loanwords from european languages into Greek and Bulgarian is examined.

PAOLO AGOSTINI

A LOANWORD IN SOME SLAVIC, GERMANIC AND SEMITIC LANGUAGES ORIGINATED FROM THE NAME OF AN ANCIENT COIN

Most of the Slavic languages express the concept of "coin" (Sg.) and "money" (Pl.) by words related to an ancient Slavonic **pěnedzъ*, yet the source of this loanword is unknown. The Slavic word is correlated to the German and English name of small change ("Pfenning" and resp. "penny"). As from the IV century A.D. the most widely spread golden coin in the Eastern Roman Empire was the "solidus" (i.e. 'hard currency'), which — according to contemporary sources — was also referred to with the latin name of "*pensa* [auri]" (i.e. 'weighed quantity [of gold]'). The paper introduces evidence tending to show that the borrowing of the latin word into ancient Slavonic took place when the Slavic peoples got in touch with the Byzantine Empire. Yet, a similar word is to be found also in classical Aramaean (cf. *pizah* 'pure gold') and in biblical Hebrew (cf. *paz* 'pure gold'). Hence we can assume that the word *pensa* was used in connection with the coinage of Philip of Macedon, who struck golden staters as from 357/6 B.C. onwards.

EVANTHIS HATZIVASSILIOU

THE SUEZ CRISIS, CYPRUS AND GREEK FOREIGN POLICY, 1956:
A VIEW FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES

The Suez crisis of 1956 coincided with one of the most difficult periods of the Cyprus issue, the period which followed Archbishop Makarios's deportation by the British, in March 1956. The rapid deterioration of Greco-British relations, after March, the need for Greece to fortify her security and to secure more allies for the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and her need to expand her trade, led the newly elected Karamanlis government to reform the Greek foreign policy. Athens expanded its political and economic relations with Eastern Europe and made openings to the Arabs. Indeed, Egypt, where Colonel Nasser had established his rule, not only appeared as the leading Arab nation, but was the host of a large Greek community, which Athens wanted to protect, as far as possible.

As the Suez crisis developed, in Summer 1956, Greece found herself obliged to make nothing less than a choice: Either to side with Nasser and thus protect the Greeks of Egypt and secure Arab support for Cyprus at the United Nations, a course which might alienate Britain, or to side with the Western powers and alienate Nasser, with damaging consequences to the Greeks of Egypt and to the Arab attitude on Cyprus at the United Nations. The crux of the matter was whether Greece would participate in the first London Conference on Suez, in August 1956. Greece decided that the prospect of losing Arab support at the United Nations and of endangering the Greeks of Alexandria was too great. She declined the invitation, despite strong American pressure to accept it. At the same time, Greece communicated to London proposals leading to the exercise of the right of self-determination of Cyprus, while her gesture of organising a truce of guerilla activities in Cyprus, met with no response from the British. The British led themselves to believe that the EOKA had been defeated. As the crisis in Suez moved to military confrontation, London's willingness to follow American advice decreased. Thus, an American effort to mediate in the Cyprus issue, in October, was ignored by the British. The year ended with the British declaration in favour of separate self-determination of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, a declaration which opened the way for the Turkish claim for partition of Cyprus.

The decision regarding the Suez crisis was not an easy one for Greece. She had to balance the interests of Hellenism in Cyprus and in Egypt (not to mention the fate of the Greek community in Turkey, which had already suf-

ferred in September 1955). In the end, it was a decision on which course presented the less dangers, rather than the more benefits.

MINAS ANALYTIS

RESTRUCTURING THE USSR ECONOMY: A RETROSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE NEW SOVIET ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Today, four years after the introduction of the policy for economic restructuring of the USSR, nobody can claim that the goals of the Perestroika have been attained.

Beyond Gorbachev's personality, the systemic constraints hinder the dynamic changes which were expected in the economic sphere. The aim of this article is to approach the new way of managing of the Soviet economy through an analysis of the chronic problems, whose persistence limits the possibility of the Soviet economy to be restructured towards a more effective economy in terms of the consumers.

Balkan Studies

A BIENNIAL PUBLICATION
OF THE
INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES
(ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ ΧΕΡΣΟΝΗΣΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΟΥ)
THESSALONIKI, GREECE



Volume 30, Number Two

Thessaloniki 1989

Balkan Studies

A BIENNIAL PUBLICATION
OF THE INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES

(ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ ΧΕΡΣΟΝΗΣΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΟΥ)

31A, M. Alexandrou Street, P. O. BOX 10611, GR 54110 THESSALONIKI, GREECE

- Published twice a year under the auspices of the Institute.
- *Editor-in-Chief*: Prof. C. Svolopoulos.
Advisory Board: Chairman: Prof. T. A. Couloumbis, *Members*: Prof. A.-E. Tachiaos, Prof. D. Pandermalls, Prof. J. Koliopoulos.
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- As of 1989 subscription to *BALKAN STUDIES*: U.S. \$ 30 per annual volume (two numbers); U.S. \$ 15 per individual number.
- Orders for the United States of America and Canada may be addressed to: 1. *F. W. Faxon Co.*, 515 Hyde Park Ave., Boston, Mass. 02131, USA — 2. *Ebsco Subscription Services*, 17-19 Washington Ave., Tenafly, N.J. 07670, USA — 3. *Kinokuniya Co. Ltd.*, P. O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan.

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- *Balkan Studies* is abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts*, and indexed by *Current Contents. Behavioral, Social and Management* of the *Institute for Scientific Information*, Philadelphia, Penn., USA.

Balkan Studies

Volume 30, 1989

Number 2

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Printed by: S. & J. Sfakianakis Bros Co, Thessaloniki

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31A, M. Alexandrou St., Thessaloniki
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Printed in Greece

GR ISSN 0005-4313

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

DIMITRA SCHÖNBEGGER, <i>Kopffüger, Schiffstücher und der Alexanderroman</i>	197-212
RONALD C. JENNINGS, <i>Pilgrims view the women of the island of Venus</i>	213-220
MARINA MARINESCU, <i>Neue Erkenntnisse über den Siebenbürgischen Humanisten Stephan Bergler (1680-1738)</i>	221-260
IZABELLA PAPP, <i>Greek merchants in the eighteenth-century Jászkunság</i>	261-289
A.-E. N. TACHIAOS, <i>The National Regeneration of the Greeks as seen by the Russian Intelligentsia</i>	291-310
BASIL C. GOUNARIS, <i>Greco-Turkish railway connection: Illusions and bargains in the late nineteenth century Balkans</i>	311-332
B. KONDIS, <i>The Northern Epirus Question during the First World War</i>	333-349

OBITUARY

ANDREI PIPPIDI, <i>Eugen Stanescu (1922-1989)</i>	351-352
---	---------

BOOK REVIEW

PANAYOTIS L. VOCOTOPOULOS, Μανόλης Χατζηδάκης, <i>Ὁ Κρητικὸς ζωγράφος Θεοφάνης. Ἡ τελευταία φάση τῆς τέχνης του στὶς τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Σταυρονικήτα</i>	353-356
VICTORIA HATZIGBOGHIU-HASSIOTIS, Alejandro Zorbas D. - César García Alvarez - Elena Martínez Chacón (ed.), <i>El cuento griego moderno. Antología</i>	356-357
JOHN O. IATRIDES, Edmund Keeley, <i>The Salonika Bay Murder. Cold War Politics and the Polk Affair</i>	358-360
SYMBON A. GIANNAKOS, Peter J. Stavrakis, <i>Moscow and Greek Communism, 1944-1949</i>	360-363
HOWARD JONES, Jon V. Kofas, <i>Intervention and Underdevelopment: Greece During the Cold War</i>	363-365
MARK MAZOWER, Yorgos A. Kourvetaris and Betty A. Dobratz, <i>A Profile of Modern Greece: In Search of Identity</i>	365-366
MONTAGLE STEARNS, Howard Jones, <i>"A New Kind of War", America's Global Strategy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece</i>	366-368
WILLIAM H. WASILEWSKI, Nikos Kazantzakis, <i>Russia: A Chronicle of Three Journeys in the Aftermath of the Revolution</i>	368-369

ELISABETH CONSTANTINIDES, Georgios Vizyenos, <i>My Mother's Sin and Other Stories</i>	370-371
ATHANASSIS E. KARATHANASSIS, Stratis Myrivilis, <i>Life in the Tomb</i>	371-372
——, Ιωάννης Δ. Παρράς, 'Ο θεσμός τῆς πολιτοφυλακῆς στὶς βενετικὲς κτήσεις τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ χώρου (16ος - 18ος αἱ.)	372-374
ECKEHARD KRAFT, Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη. Παλαιολόγειος 'Εποχή	375-378
——, Athanassios E. Karathanassis, <i>L'Hellénisme en Transylvanie. L'activité culturelle, nationale et religieuse des compagnies commerciales helléniques de Sibiu et de Braşov aux XVIII-XIX siècles</i>	378-380

DIMITRA SCHÖNEGGER

KOPFJÄGER, SCHIFFSTÜCHER UND DER ALEXANDERROMAN

Die sagenumworbene, geschichtliche Gestalt Alexanders d. Großen ist allen Literaturforschern in vielen Sprachen des Orients und Okzidents seit langem bekannt, da seine Taten, historisch oder erdichtet, ihren Niederschlag in der Literatur vieler Völker gefunden haben.

Im Bereich der Ethnologie jedoch bildet das Literatur- oder Geschichtsstudium eines jeden Volkes eine nicht immer leicht zu bewerkstelligende Aufgabe für den jeweiligen Forscher. Sehr oft versucht man, solchen Lücken mit einer engen Abgrenzung des Arbeitsgebietes zu enttrinnen. Aber in ähnlich vielen Fällen gerät der Ethnologe in einen hermeneutischen Zwang, wenn es darum geht, kulturelle Phänomene und Zusammenhänge zu interpretieren. Das Fehlen von Kenntnissen über schriftliche Quellen (auch niedergeschriebene, orale Tradition) und ihren Querverbindungen zur Geschichte und Religion eines Volkes kann oft zu falschen oder einseitigen Interpretationen führen. Der vielzitierte interdisziplinäre Dialog findet meistens gar nicht statt. Es ist daher für Ethnologen von Nutzen, stets Skepsis gegenüber Erläuterungen zu üben.

Während meiner Beschäftigung mit den Textilien Südsumatras, kam ich auf einen Entstehungsmythos des Volkes Abung-Lampung, in welchem der "radja Ischander", als mythischer Vorfahre in Erscheinung tritt. In den folgenden Zeilen wird der Versuch unternommen, die Bedeutung dieser Sage für eine neue Einschätzung der islamischen Tradition bei den Lampung-Völkern aufzuzeigen.

1. Geschichte und Legende

Es gibt wenige Persönlichkeiten in der Geschichte, deren Leben und Taten die Historiker aller Epochen so fasziniert hat, wie das Leben Alexanders des Großen. Kallisthenes war der auserwählte Berichterstatter des Feldzuges Alexanders gewesen. Er verstrickte sich in einer Hochverratsaffaire und starb. Aber auch Ptolemaios führte ein Tagebuch der Expedition, welches er später als Grundlage für seine Biographie Alexanders benützte. Arrianus verfaßte

in griechisch das wichtigste Werk, "Anabasis Alexandri", im 1. Jh. n. Chr., welches allein Anspruch auf Authentizität und Vollständigkeit besitzt. Im 2. Jh. n. Chr. entstand die einzige in Latein erhaltene Geschichte Alexanders von Quintus Curtius Rufus. Dieser Autor nannte als Quellen Timagenes und Kleitarch. Curtius Rufus ist deswegen hier hervorgehoben worden, erstens weil es bereits zu seiner Zeit viele und widersprüchliche Quellen aber auch eine starke historische Tradition gab, welche sich mit der Persönlichkeit des Königs auseinandersetzte; und zweitens weil auf Curtius Rufus auch der neugriechische Brief Alexanders zurückgeht, und zwar durch die italienische Übersetzung seiner "Epistola Alexandri Magni ad Aristotelem" von dem bekannten Humanisten Tomaso Porcacchi (Aretino)¹. Nebenbei war das Interesse der Caesaren an Alexander groß, denn in ihm sahen sie den idealen Typus des Herrschers. Als im 3. Jh. n. Chr. in Alexandrien der griechische Alexanderroman erschien, war der Makedoner schon eine legendäre Persönlichkeit.

Der Autor des Romans war ein Alexandriner, der sich Kallisthenes nannte, später als Pseudo-Kallisthenes bekannt, nachdem der Historiograph gleichen Namens—wie erwähnt—vor dem Ende des Feldzugs gestorben war. Nach Pseudo-Kallisthenes war Alexander der Sohn des nach Makedonien von den Persern geflüchteten ägyptischen Königs Nektanebos und der Olympias. Daher auch der legitime Herrscher Ägyptens. Zu den von Kleitarch verfaßten phantastischen Erzählungen über Wundertaten fügte Pseudo-Kallisthenes Gespräche des Königs bei dem Gymnosophisten in Indien hinzu, sowie eine fiktive Briefsammlung gemischt mit geschichtlichen Fakten, wie die Meutereien am Hyphasis und in Opis, die Schlachten von Issos und Arbela². Ungeachtet der historischen Unzuverlässigkeit dieses Werkes, begann damit der große Siegeszug des Alexanderromans in der Geschichte und Mythologie aller Völker von Island bis Indonesien. Der Alexanderroman wurde in fünfunddreißig Sprachen des Orients und Okzidents gestaltet. "Erst mit Petrarca setzt sich das historische Bild...durch, aber der Alexanderroman behauptet...noch lange seinen Platz"³. Arabische Kaufleute verbreiteten die Alexanderlegende vom Sudan bis nach Malaysia, so daß die Verbreitung des Islam mit jener des Alexanderromans flächengleich ist⁴. Bei den Arabern heißt

1. Veloudis Georg, *Der Neugriechische Alexander*, Diss. München 1968, S. 150.

2. Rufus Quintus Curtius, *Alexander Geschichte und der Alexanderroman*, Stuttgart 1987, S. XII.

3. Pfister Friedrich, *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman*, Hef 61, Meisenheim/Glan 1976, S. 2.

4. Fox Robin Lane, *The Search for Alexander*, Boston 1980.

Alexander Iskandar, auch Ischander, Zulkarnain oder Dhül-Karnayn, der Zweigehörnte. Diese Bezeichnung bezieht sich auf die Ammonshörner, die Alexander als Sohn des Gottes Ammon ausweisen. Diese nur skizzenhafte Darstellung der Bedeutung der Alexanderüberlieferungen ist für die Fragestellung dieses Artikels notwendig. Die Fachliteratur über dieses Thema ist umfangreich, aber für unsere Zwecke nicht weiter von Belang. (Siehe auch die Anmerkung auf S. 211).

2. Die Lampung-Völker und das Schiffstuch

Die Lampung-Völker sind die Bewohner der südlichen Spitze der Insel Sumatra. Zu ihnen zählen die drei Hauptgruppen: Peminggir, Pubian und Abung. Unter den Abung-Lampung wiederum sind drei Gruppen zu unterscheiden: Abung-Sewu-Mego, Buwei-Lima und Mego-Pak. Die Lampung-Völker waren schon früh mit fremden Kulturen in Berührung gekommen, besonders die Peminggir als Küstenbewohner. Der Einfluß von Hinduismus und Islam war kleiner bei den Pubian und den Abung, wie in den Quellen behauptet wird. Ihrem kulturellen Habitus nach zählt W. Stöhr die Abung, die als Bergbewohner gelten, zu den autochthonen Völkern Indonesiens⁵. Für Loeb sind sie wahrscheinlich "the original natives of Lampong"⁶.

Die kulturelle Eigentümlichkeit der Abung besteht darin, daß man bei ihnen noch sehr starke Merkmale ihrer ursprünglichen Kultur mit megalithischen und bronzezeitlichen Elementen antrifft. Dazu gehören die Steinsetzungen, die Kopfjagd, die Beschneidung, die Verdienstfeste. Der künstlerische Ausdruck dieses Kulturkomplexes findet sich in klaren geometrischen Mustern auf Textilien, Bambusbehältern, Flechtarbeiten, Holzschnitzereien usw. 1953 besuchte der Ethnologe und Abung-Forscher F. W. Funke die Megalithgräber, welche auch die alte Heimat der Abung kennzeichnen. Ein heute noch bei großen Festen aufgeführter Tanz, *meningel*, ist eine Nachahmung der Jagd auf ein Menschenopfer, und wird auch mit den gleichen Waffen—Schild, Kris und Speer—durchgeführt. Es ist bekannt, daß ein junger Mann nicht heiratsfähig war, bevor er einen Menschenkopf ins Dorf gebracht hatte. Der Bräutigam legte den Brautpreis in einen Schädel und übergab ihn dem Vater der Braut. Das Brautpaar trank Palmwein aus einem Schädel. Eine Hochzeitszeremonie ohne diesen Ritus wäre ungültig⁷.

5. Stöhr W. und Zoetmulder P., *Die Religionen Indonesiens*, Berlin 1965, S. 45.

6. Loeb Edwin M., *Sumatra. Its History and People*, Verlag d. Institutes für Völkerkunde, Wien 1935, S. 280.

7. *Ebenda*, Seite 280.

Charakteristisches Kulturmerkmal der Lampung-Völker ist der Gebrauch von spezifischen Textilien—die kleinen *tampan* und die größeren *tatibin* und *palepai* — bei allen Übergangsritualen, d.h. Geburt, Beschneidung, Heirat, Tod aber auch beim Bau eines Hauses. Auf diesen Textilien sind Schiffsdarstellungen (aber nicht ausschließlich) eingewebt. Sie sind in der Fachliteratur als *Schiffstücher* bekannt. Die Schiffstücher der Lampung sind vielgefragte Sammelobjekte geworden. Während die Batiktradition auf Java sowie die Ikat auf Sumba und Borneo weiter lebendig bleiben, werden die Schiffstücher nicht mehr erzeugt.

Forman, v. Dijk und de Jonge geben an, daß mit dem Ausbruch des Krakatau im Jahre 1883 auch das Ende der Herstellung der Schiffstücher zusammenfällt. Dies scheint mir eher ein mythischer als ein historischer Wendepunkt gewesen zu sein. Die Erzeugung der Schiffstücher ist nicht durch den Ausbruch des großen Vulkans zum Stillstand gekommen, sondern durch den Verlust ihrer Symbolkraft. Die Schiffstücher waren das Mittel, wodurch die Lampung ihre soziale Stellung dokumentierten und ihre sozialen Verpflichtungen tilgten. Die *palepai* fungierten als Statussymbol der Aristokratie der Küstenbewohner Peminggir. Die für die Abung-Lampung üblichen *tampan* waren wichtige Geschenke, deren Hergabe das Prestige des Donators vergrößerte. M. Mauss erläutert in seinem Artikel "Essai sur le Don"⁸ die Universalität der Institution des Schenkens. Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Schiffstücher lange noch neben dem Islam existiert haben, bis sie aufhörten "abstraktes Sinnbild für Macht, Stand, Familiensolidarität und politische Autorität"⁹ zu sein.

Bei allen indonesischen Völkern hat der Kulturwandel dazugeführt, daß kaum jemand mehr in der Lage ist, über die esoterische Bedeutung der Textilien etwas zu berichten. Der Erzeugungsprozeß wurde entmythologisiert und die Verwendung säkularisiert, um rein praktischen Zwecken zu dienen und der westlichen Ästhetik näher zu kommen. In vereinzelten Fällen erinnert man sich heute noch, daß man als Kind, während einer Krankheit, in ein bestimmtes Batiktuch von der Mutter eingewickelt wurde, wie mir die bekannte indonesische Malerin Kartika Affandi berichtete. Um den Kosmos der Menschen zu rekonstruieren, welcher diese Kulturerzeugnisse hervorgebracht hat, ist man heute auf alte Berichte und Erzählungen angewiesen.

Die Forscher Gittinger, van Dijk und de Jonge haben sich eingehend mit den Schiffstüchern beschäftigt und versucht, mittels ihrer Verwendung, die gei-

8. Mauss Marcel, *Sociologie et Anthropologie*, Paris 1950, S. 145-257.

9. Beattie John, *Other Cultures*, London 1964, S. 70.

stige und soziale Welt der Lampung nachzuzeichnen, in welcher die Schiffstücher ein wichtiger Bestandteil waren. Die geometrische Darstellung des Schiffes, der Menschen- und Tiergestalten, die Verzierung des Randes weisen deutlich auf die Motive der sogenannten "Dongson-Kultur" Südchinas hin, derer Verbreitung auf die Inseln des Archipels um 100 oder 200 v. Chr. stattfand. F. Wagner sieht in diesen Darstellungen das "Seelenschiff", das die Seelen der Toten in das Reich der Unterwelt führt, und bringt es in Verbindung mit den Schiffsdarstellungen auf der Kesseltrommel von Hanoi. Van Dijk und de Jonge sehen das Schiff selbst als Sympol für die Unterwelt, während das Deck die Erdoberfläche symbolisiert, auf der die Menschen als "Besatzung" dargestellt sind. Steinmann erwähnt eine weitere Dimension des Schiffes: Neben dem Totenkult und Jenseitsglauben "liegt die Vorstellung zugrunde, nach der mit Hilfe eines magischen Bootes Epidemien oder sonstiges Unglück verhütet oder beschworen werden könne"¹⁰. Dies erklärt auch die weite Verwendung der *tampan* bei allen wichtigen Ritualen des Lebenszyklus der Lampung.

3. Kulturelle und religiöse Einflüsse im südsumatranischen Raum

Große Bevölkerungsbewegungen vom Festland Asien auf die Inseln des Archipels fanden schon im Neolithikum statt und waren um 1000 v. Chr. abgeschlossen. Die starke Ausbreitung der Dongson- und der späten Chou-Kultur Chinas dauert bis ca. 400 n. Chr. Dies bedeutet, daß der Einfluß Chinas auf Java und Sumatra erst durch die Indische Kolonisation zurückweicht. Es ist für unsere Erörterung von Interesse festzuhalten, daß das erste große buddhistische Reich, das Reich von Shrivijaya, sich auf Sumatra gebildet hat mit seinem Zentrum in Palembang. Diese Stadt befindet sich direkt nördlich des Siedlungsraumes der Abung-Lampung. Trotz der Machtverschiebungen zwischen Java und Sumatra, blieb die Vorherrschaft der hindu-buddhistischen Kultur hier bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts erhalten, d.h. bis zum Beginn der islamischen Periode. Dieser über neun Jahrhunderte dauernde Hindu-Kultureinfluß hat seine Spuren auch bei den weiterhin kopfjagenden Abung hinterlassen, wie man in der Folge sehen wird.

Bezeichnenderweise wurde auf Sumatra auch der erste islamische Staat, das Reich von Samudra, um 1300 gegründet, welches wiederum auf die engen Beziehungen zu Indien hinweist, diesmal zum islamischen Gujarat. Seitdem

10. Steinmann A., *Das Seelenschiff in der Textilkunst*, Sonderdruck aus der Ciba-Rundschau, Nr. 65, Okt. 1945, S. 2382.

blieb Sumatra das Bollwerk des Islam im indonesischen Archipel.

Die subtile Art der Verbreitung dieser Religion hat immer schon für Verwirrung bei den Europäern gesorgt. Es ist mehrmals konstatiert worden, daß die islamische Lehre nicht durch Eroberungskriege von fanatischen Führern aufoktroiert wurde, sondern von friedlichen Gujarati Kaufleuten gepredigt wurde. Ricklefs jedoch schließt sich dieser Meinung nicht an. "Islam was spread in Indonesia not only by persuasion and commercial pressures, but by the sword as well"¹¹. Im Bereich der ethnologischen Arbeiten im indonesischen Raum bildet die Auslegung des Islam eine seltsame Konstante. Es wird behauptet, der Islam sei nur ein unwesentlicher Bestandteil der dominanten autochthonen Religion; er sei nicht "echt", er sei "eher oberflächlich", ketzerisch, oder sogar in manchen Gebieten—wie bei den Abung—habe er "nie richtig Fuß gefaßt". Solche und ähnliche Formulierungen schaffen eine Grundlage, welche dann konsequent auch alle kulturellen Erscheinungen in einen bestimmten Blickwinkel rückt.

Die in Indonesien vorherrschende Lehre des Sufismus hat ihre Anfänge im persischen Konzept der persönlichen Rettung durch Mystik. Nach A.H. Johns war der Sufismus oft mit Kaufmannsgilden assoziiert und war tolerant Andersgläubigen gegenüber¹². Die Vorstellung, der Islam habe den Hinduismus mit seinem Kastensystem verdrängt auf Grund seiner egalitären Prinzipien, hält nicht stand, denn die Verbreitung der neuen Religion erfolgte nicht "von unten"—vom Volk—sondern nur "von oben"—von den Fürsten. Hier erweist sich die Bedeutung der Institution des Königtums in Südostasien als ein Schlüsselbegriff. "Harmonie zwischen dem Reich und dem Universum ist erreichbar, wenn man das erstere nach dem Abbild des letzteren organisiert, als ein Universum in kleinerem Maßstab". Das Prinzip eines kosmomagischen Zusammenhangs zwischen König und Gott ist davon ableitbar ebenso in der Organisation der Hindu- und der buddhistischen Königreiche "und zu einem gewissen Grad bei ihren islamischen Nachfolgern in Malaysia und Indonesien"¹³. In der Tat sind die indonesischen Fürsten diejenigen, die als erste zur neuen Religion übergetreten sind. "Bald nahmen sie den Titel 'Sultan' auf und konstruierten phantastische Genealogien, die ihre Herkunft von

11. Ricklefs M. C., *A History of Modern Indonesia*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1981, S. 13.

12. Zitiert bei A. Day, *Islam and Literature in South-East Asia*, Ed. M. E. Hooker, *Islam in South-East Asia*, Leiden 1983, S. 142.

13. Heine-Geldern R. von, *Conceptions of State and Kingship in South-East Asia*, American Museum of Natural History, New York, Nov. 1942, S. 15, 16.

berühmten Dynastien Indiens ableiten ließen"¹⁴. In einem frühen Bericht über die Abung-Lampung wird eine 'Familie Hadji' erwähnt, "von welcher Unparteiische sagen, daß sie die älteste von allen Geschlechtern der Buwei-Lampung ist..."¹⁵. Hier wird diese Theorie nochmals bestätigt, da selbst in dieser abgelegenen Lampung-Region der angesehenste Mann zum Islam bekehrt war und die Bezeichnung für Mekka-Pilger, 'Hadji', als Familiennamen trug.

4. Aus dem Bericht eines holländischen Kolonialbeamten

Du Bois, ein holländischer Kolonialbeamte, welcher Anfang des vorigen Jahrhunderts dreizehn Jahre in den Lampungländern verbrachte und einen frühen Bericht über die Abung-Lampung hinterließ, behauptete, der Islam hätte in diesem Land noch wenig Wurzeln geschlagen. Als Beweis dazu führte er die Vorkommnisse von Kopffjagd noch während seiner Amtsperiode im Jahr 1819. In einer Fußnote erklärte er: "Die Lampung, vornehmlich die der höheren Klasse, sind gewohnt, sich durch Morde selbst an Unschuldigen zu rächen, um sich dadurch von einer ihnen zugefügten Schande zu reinigen"¹⁶. Über die Art der Ausübung des Islam in diesem Gebiet war er skeptisch bis negativ. "...Das (religiöse) Wissen, (welches) Mohammed in dem Koran an seine Jünger gab, ist ihnen fremd. Sie richten sich nach ihren uralten Gebräuchen, die wahrscheinlich sehr vermischt sind..." "Es sind nur die Bewohner der Küste, in der Nachbarschaft von Banten, die unvermeidlich von Fremden besucht werden, die eine gewisse Kenntnis von Islam haben. Es gibt keine zehn Priester in ganz Lampung...Und die Priester sind dann meistens alle Flüchtlinge von Banten und falsche Lehrer, die einem dummen Volk...ihre 'djimats' (Schriften wodurch sie übernatürliche Kräfte erkennen) verkaufen... Die sogenannten Heiligen oder 'hadjis' sind ein Unglück für dieses Volk"¹⁷.

Neben diesen Feststellungen aber liefert er uns zahlreiche Zeugnisse von islamisch beeinflussten Bräuchen bei den Lampung. Bei Eidschwören z.B. bei den südlichen Lampung wird der Koran verwendet. Du Bois hatte den Eindruck, das Heilige Buch wurde geholt, nur weil er als Europäer anwesend war. Aber selbst diese Annahme beweist, daß das Vorhandensein des Korans

14. *Ebenda*, S. 26.

15. Du Bois J. A., *De lampongsche distrikten op het eiland Sumatra*, Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indie, Vol. 14, 1852, S. 268.

16. *Ebenda*, S. 255:

17. Du Bois, *wie vorthier*, S. 256.

der Sache größere Wichtigkeit verleihen sollte¹⁸.

Über die Art der Bestattung berichtet er ferner, daß die Leiche in die linke Seite des Grabes gelegt wird, mit dem Gesicht nach Mekka oder nach Nordwesten gerichtet¹⁹.

Der Sultan von Banten pflegte die prestigesehrenden Lampung-Häuptlinge, für größere Mengen Pfeffer versteht sich, nicht nur mit Titeln und Krisse zu belohnen. Er schenkte ihnen auch Kanonen mit magischem Vernichtungspotential. Im Norden des Lampunggebietes, tief im Landesinneren und entlang des Tulang Bawang Flusses fand du Bois solche großkalibrigen Kanonen. Zwei davon waren ein Geschenk des Sultans von Palembang²⁰.

Mit der Ambivalenz in seinen Ausführungen ist du Bois keineswegs allein. Fast wörtlich wiederholt F.W. Funke hundert Jahre später diese Ansicht: "Auf sechseinhalbtausend Kilometer langer Wanderung habe ich einen einzigen Imam in einer kleinen Moschee in Menggala am Tulang Bawang beim Gottesdienst angetroffen"²¹. Oder über die Dominanz des "Adat" (althergebrachtes Brauchtum, Tradition) führt er weiter: "...die das private und...öffentliche Recht regelnden Rechtssätze...füßen im uralten Brauchtum, dessen Wurzeln in der megalithischen Zeit liegen"²².

Van Dijk und de Jonge zitieren Harrebomée, der 1885 dieselben Ansichten wie du Bois und Funke über den Islam unter den Lampung formulierte²³.

5. Der Entstehungsmythos der Abung-Lampung

Du Bois, diesem Kolonialbeamten, verdanken wir auch die Aufnahme eines Entstehungsmythos der Abung-Lampung. Laut Legende stammen die Lampung von einem Dewa (Engel), und ihre Insel Sumatra, bei ihnen "Indalus" oder "Pulu Agaja" genannt, stammt von einer Schlange. Ein gewisser Wali Olah kam mit einem Schiff aus dem Festland Asien übers Meer. Er traf eine große Schlange, die er tötete. Ihr Körper verwandelte sich in den Berg Sebuntang. Am Fuß dieses Berges schlug er seinen Wohnplatz auf und nach einiger Zeit bekam er den Namen Radja Ischander von einem Djin oder einem der bösen Geister, Radja Prie genannt. Radja Ischander nahm in der Folge

18. *Ebenda*, S. 262.

19. *Ebenda*, S. 271.

20. *Ebenda*, S. 318, 319.

21. Funke F. W., *Orang Abung*, Band I & II, Leiden 1958, S. 221.

22. *Ebenda*, S. 221.

23. v. Dijk, *De Jonge wie vorher*, S. 29.

zwei Frauen. Mit einer zeugte er einen Sohn. Bei der anderen zeugte der böse Geist, Radja Prie, eine Tochter. Beide Kinder lebten seit ihrer Geburt zusammen. Eines Tages als sie zum Fluß gingen, um zu baden, wurden sie von einer Schlange angefallen, welche den Sohn von Ischander tötete...Kurze Zeit nach dem Tod des jungen Radja Ischander wurde die Tochter von Radja Prie von einem Dewa (Engel) in ihrem Schlaf geschwängert. Sie gebär einen Sohn, der von Radja Ischander ins Meer geworfen wurde, da er über ihre Schwangerschaft verärgert war. Das Kind landete auf einer Insel und wurde von einem Garuda (mythischen Vogel) zurück zum oben erwähnten Berg Sebuntang geführt... Ohne seine Abstammung zu entdecken, unter dem Namen Sabatang heiratete er eine der Enkel von Radja Ischander und zog mit ihr nach Madjapahit auf Java...Später kam er wieder zu seinem Geburtsort, Berg Sebuntang, zurück. Von einem seiner vielen Kinder, Umpu Seruntieng, stammen auch die Abung²⁴. Die weitere Folge der Legende erweist sich als eine verlässliche Quelle, denn die Flußgegenden, zu welchen die Nachkommen des Umpu Seruntieng sich ausbreiteten, stimmen mit dem Siedlungsraum der Abung-Lampung überein. Wir führen die Legende aber nicht weiter, denn sie ist für unsere Zwecke nicht mehr von Belang.

Es ist merkwürdig, daß ein so genauer Forscher wie Funke, der den Artikel von du Bois kannte, den von ihm aufgenommenen Entstehungsmythos völlig unbeachtet läßt. Er konzentriert sich auf den Minak Paduka Begeduh, den mythischen Vorfahren der Sewu-Mego-Abung, dessen Steingrab er auch besucht. Er weiß aber, daß "bei den insgesamt neun Stämmen der beiden Nordgruppen (gemeint sind vermutlich die Buwei-Lima und Mego-Pak) die Abstammung schwieriger zu definieren (ist), weil hier die Abstammungsmythen fehlen. Dort tritt dann die gemeinsame Tradition an die Stelle dieser Mythen an"²⁵. Wie du Bois berichtet, gibt es hier die Abstammung vom Radja Ischander und seinem Nachkommen Umpu Seruntieng. Es ist nur sehr wahrscheinlich, daß du Bois von diesen Stämmen seinen Mythos aufgenommen hatte, denn bei ihm fehlt in der Entstehungslegende jede Spur von Minak Paduka Begeduh. Wohl kennt er den Namen Minak Sengadja, auf dessen Grab die Lampung nach alter Gewohnheit Eid leisten, aber er bezeichnet ihn als "einen der ältesten bekannten Stammväter nach Umpu Seruntieng"²⁶. Nach dieser Feststellung können wir annehmen, daß nur die nördlichen Stämme der Lampung im Besitz des Alexandermythos waren, und daß gerade

24. Du Bois, *wie vorher*, S. 331-332.

25. Funke F. W., *wie vorher*, S. 221.

26. Du Bois J. A., *wie vorher*, S. 262.

bei ihnen der Kontakt mit dem Islam vorhanden war, obwohl sie keine Küstenbewohner waren. Ihr Siedlungsgebiet scheint nicht ganz so abgeschlossen von der Welt zu sein, denn es befindet sich entlang des Flusses Tulang Bawang und seiner Nebenflüsse (Wai Kiri, Wai Kanan, Wai Umpu), die alle befahrbar sind. Nicht unwesentlich ist hier die Nähe von Palembang. Dort, im Nordwesten der Stadt auf dem Berg Siguntang, befindet sich heute noch unter den Gräbern auch das Grab Alexanders, ein Ziel vieler Pilgerfahrten²⁷. So gesehen, wird es deutlich, daß du Bois keine beiläufige Geschichte eines zufälligen Informanten erzählt, sondern eine, die im Adat verwurzelt war. Die Stammesgeschichte, Mythen und Legenden gehören bekanntlich dem Adat. "Darum kann eine von der allgemeinen Version abweichende Form der Wiedergabe einer legendären Begebenheit schon ein Verstoß gegen den 'Adat' sein"²⁸. Über die nordwestlichen Buwei-Lima sowie die Mego-Pak-Lampung fehlen nach Funke "konkrete Unterlagen" bezüglich ihrer Herkunft. Die Abweichungen bezüglich der Abstammungsfolge in der Tradition der nördlichen Lampung liegen, nach unserer Meinung, im Einflechten des Alexanderromans durch den Einfluß des Islam in dieser Region. Die Sage von du Bois berichtet, daß der Nachkomme von Ischander "als seinen Wohnplatz den Fleck Sakalobrah wählte"²⁹. Dieser Ort lag nach den Lampung bei einem See, 'Lahut ranau' genannt. Diese Beschreibung entspricht genau dem Bericht Funkes, wonach die alte Heimat aller Lampung den Namen Sekala Berak trägt und sich einst um den Ranau See ausdehnte. Insofern kann man diese detaillierte Stammesgeschichte von du Bois als eine ziemlich "konkrete Unterlage" bezeichnen, nachdem sie noch hundert Jahre später verifiziert werden konnte. Es ist ferner kein Zufall, daß Funke bei seinen langen Wanderungen den einzigen Imam in Menggala antraf, denn diese Stadt liegt just im Gebiet der nordöstlichen Stämme, die aber—wie er angibt—nicht zu seinem Forschungsgebiet gehörten, welche jedoch im Besitz der Alexandersage waren, und—wie man annehmen kann—intensiveren Kontakt zum Islam haben mußten.

In der Entstehungslegende der Lampung sind viele hinduistische Elemente eingeflochten, aber die Gestalt Radja Ischanders als Religionsgründer und mythischer Vorfahre des Volkes wurde sehr deutlich skizziert. Dagegen gibt es wenig Zeugnis von dem prähinduistischen Gedankengut. Obwohl der Hinduismus seinen Stempel in der Mythologie und in der Kunst der Lampung gesetzt hat, hat er den geschlossenen Kreis der Megalithkultur nicht

27. Archipel 15: *Etudes interdisciplinaires sur le monde Insulinien*, Paris 1978, S. 151.

28. Funke F. W., *wie vorher*, S. 222.

29. Du Bois J. A., *wie vorher*, S. 322.

verdrängt. Bei den Lampung erweiterte sich lediglich der Ahnenkult um den Begriff der Reinkarnation, so daß Tiger und Krokodile als mögliche Blutsverwandte gelten, denen man Opfergaben bringt und nicht töten darf³⁰. Die Tatsache, daß diese Tiere auch respektiert und "Großvater" genannt werden, zeigt weiters totemistische Aspekte. Es ist somit verständlich, daß Tiger, Krokodile, Elefanten (Gadjas), Löwen (Singas), auch der Garuda-Vogel, als wichtige und beliebte Motive die Textilien der Lampung beherrschen. Dieses abstrakt abgebildete Pantheon auf den Schiffstüchern findet sicherlich die Zustimmung des Korans, während die Varianten mit Schiff und menschlichen Gestalten als Toleranz gegenüber dem Adat anzusehen wäre.

6. Der Islam als Vehikel der Verbreitung des griechischen Heldenromans

Die Alexanderlegende schlug sich in der Mythologie vieler islamisierten Völker nieder. Alexander oder Ischander wurde ihr Stammvater, Verfechter des Islam und implizit ihr Religionsführer. Diese Legende könnte über Banten zu den Lampungländern gelangt sein, da der vielschichtige Einfluß des Sultans von Banten auf diese Region mit dem Pfefferhandel eng zusammenhängt und oft (bei v. Dijk, du Bois, Funke) betont wird. Es ist aber wahrscheinlicher, daß die ursprüngliche Erzählung der Taten Ischanders von Malakka und Palembang hierher wanderte. Als Quelle könnte der malaiische Alexanderroman—*Hikayat Iskandar*—gedient haben. In dessen 1937 erschienenen Übersetzung ins Holländische wird von einem gewissen "Nimat, König von Andalus" erzählt. Er schließt sich dem Heer Ischanders an ... mit dreihundert Schiffen überquert er ein Meer...³¹. Andalus ist der arabische Name von Spanien und erscheint hier sonderbar, wenn man bedenkt, daß in der Erzählung Ischander bereits sehr weit in Asien vorgedrungen war. In einer späteren Notiz jedoch erklärt der Autor den Grund für diese Synonymik: "Von den Malaien wird der Name Andalus oft mit Andalas—ein alter Name für Sumatra—verwechselt. Infolge dieser lokalen Tradition treffen die über Andalus berichteten Sachen auf Sumatra zu"³². Dieser Name der Insel wird auch durch den Bericht von du Bois in dem Entstehungsmythos bestätigt. (Ob der König Nimat des malaiischen Alexanderromans mit du Bois' Minak ident ist, bleibt eine Frage).

Das Erscheinen des Wali Olah entspricht der weitverbreiteten Tradition

30. Helfrich O. L., zitiert bei v. Dijk u. de Jonge, *wie vorher*, S. 28.

31. v. Leeuwen P. J., *De Maleische Alexanderroman*, Utrecht 1937, S. 237.

32. *Ebenda*, S. 320.

des islamischen Religionsgründers W. Stöhr stellt fest, daß die Walis "als erste Verbreiter des Islam auf Java gelten". "Einige von ihnen tragen die allgemeinen Züge von 'Kulturbringern'"³³. Dieses Schema der "ersten Siedler", die gleichzeitig als regionale Religionsgründer angesehen werden, ist auch bei der islamischen Bevölkerung Nord-Griechenlands anzutreffen. Dort wird der erste Siedler Emir Baba genannt und als ein 'Mann Gottes' bezeichnet³⁴. Nach Milner bedeutet Wali "Heiliger" und nach Nicholson "der populäre Typ des perfekten Mannes"³⁵. Eine weitere Konstante im Prozeß der islamischen Religionsverkündigung bildet die Teratoktonie. Bei den Lampung tötete Wali Olah eine Schlange. Emir Baba in Nord-Griechenland erlegte einen Hirschen. Im ägyptischen Alexanderroman bändigte der junge Held das *menschenfressende* Pferd Bukephalos. Das "teratologische Element" wird bei Pfister mit den Wanderungssagen—wie von Odysseus, Herakles oder Theseus—in Verbindung gebracht³⁶.

Sowohl holländische Kolonialbeamte als auch Ethnologen haben die lokale Ausübung dieser Religion mit dem scholastischen, reinen Typus der arabischen Tradition verglichen und demzufolge die südostasiatischen Varianten als unorthodox und ketzerisch geschildert. Tatsächlich sind die islamischen Institutionen wie das islamische Gesetz, Sharia, und seine Administratoren Kadi und Mufti in den Dörfern von Südsumatra nicht anzutreffen. Wie schon erwähnt, fand du Bois damals keine zehn Priester und Funke einen einzigen. "So gesehen haben die Forscher beschlossen, daß Islam nur wenig Einfluß auf die südostasiatischen Staaten hatte"³⁷. A. C. Milner hat auf einen wichtigen Aspekt hingewiesen, der uns eine unbefangene Sicht in der Art der Auffassung des Islam in Südostasien ermöglicht. "The laws gain their authority from having been laid down by the ruler"³⁸. Nicht das heilige Gesetz (Sharia) verkündet den Islam, sondern der lokale Herrscher, der Radja.

Die zentrale Rolle des Königs, die schon von Heine-Geldern in seiner frühen Abhandlung analysiert wurde, wird auch durch die Aussage Ellens unterstrichen: "...Der König bekam Macht durch mythische Legitimation, Kontrolle der wesentlichen mystischen Quellen und den offenbar falschen Glauben seiner Untertanen, daß ohne König zu sein, einem Zustand wie Chaos

33. Stöhr W., *wie vorher*, S. 302.

34. Schönegger Dimitra, *Das Minoritätenproblem gezeigt am Beispiel eines griechisch-türkischen Dorfes*, Diss. Wien 1972.

35. Beide in: Hooker M. E. (ed.), *wie vorher*, S. 41.

36. Pfister F., *wie vorher*, S. 14.

37. Milner A. C., *Islam and the Muslim State*, in M. E. Hooker, *wie vorher*, S. 23.

38. *Ebenda*, S. 29, 30.

gleichkommt"³⁹. Demzufolge ist es verständlich, daß der Wali Olah der Lampung ein Kulturbringer ist, der aber erst durch seine Verwandlung zum Radja Ischander eine legitime Autorität bekommt und würdiger Stammvater des Volkes wird. Die islamischen Herrscher von Malakka führen ihre Genealogien auf Alexander den Großen zurück und sind durch die mythische, übermenschliche Gestalt des Makedoners gesetzmäßige Schützer aller Muslime. Die ostasiatischen Könige sind keineswegs allein in der Abstammungsfolge. "In der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung führen die Sachsen und Franken ihren Stammbaum auf Alexander und seine Soldaten zurück"⁴⁰. Auch die mohammedanischen Pomaken Nord-Griechenlands bezeichnen sich als Nachkommen der Soldaten Alexanders⁴¹.

Das hartnäckige Negieren der starken Präsenz des Islam in Südostasien führt zu Fehleinschätzungen und Fehlinterpretationen, wenn man den vielen kleinen Hinweisen im gesamten Kulturkomplex nicht einige Aufmerksamkeit schenkt. In unserem Fall stellt es sich heraus, daß die Diskrepanz im religiösen Verhalten der islamischen Lampung nur im europäischen Denken verankert ist. Selbst die Megalithkultur in Südsumatra erwies sich kompatibel mit dem Islam, denn "in machten Gegenden wird die Wallfahrt zu heiligen Steinen als ein akzeptierter Ersatz für den Haj..." angesehen⁴².

Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Schiffstüchern und ihren eigenwilligen Mustern aus dem sogenannten Dongson-Kulturkomplex sollte uns in keiner Weise ermutigen, andere Indizien als irrelevant abzutun, oder sie zu verharmlosen. Letztendlich ist der Dongson-Einfluß dominierend in der dekorativen Kunst des ganzen indonesischen Archipels. Der Entstehungsmythos von du Bois kann kaum als Beweis für die Kontinuität des Dongson-Kulturkomplexes dienen, nur weil der erste Siedler mit einem "Schiff" aus dem Festland nach Sumatra kam. So beziehungsvoll das Vorhandensein des "Schiffes" in allen Lebensbereichen erscheint, so inadequat erweist es sich hier als Interpretationsvehikel für die Schiffstücher in Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß dieser Mythos—wie wir erläutert haben—ein Produkt des Islam und des Hinduismus ist und nicht der Dongson-Kosmogonie. Eine weitere Einschränkung für Verallgemeinerungen bietet der Umstand, daß die Alexanderlegende—wie oben berichtet—nur für die nördlichen Lampungstämme Gültigkeit besitzt. Die Forscher, welche sich mit den Schiffstüchern beschäftigen, gehen selektiv vor

39. Ellen R. F., *Practical Islam in South-East Asia*, in M. E. Hooker, *wie vorher*, S. 74.

40. Pfister F., *wie vorher*, S. 8.

41. Schönegger D., *wie vorher*, S. 62.

42. Ellen R. F., *wie vorher*, S. 65.

und halten bei den Quellen überall Ausschau nach dem "Schiff", während andere ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die Abweichungen der lokalen Formen des Islam vom orthodoxen Dogmatismus lenken. Einmal wird ein Teil der Quellen außer Acht gelassen, und ein andermal wird ein anderer Teil derselben Quellen als Beweis für ein Postulat herangezogen.

Die Legende der nördlichen Abung-Lampung berechtigt zur Annahme, daß der Islam seit vier Jahrhunderten in Südsumatra präsent ist. Durch die mythisierte Ahnengestalt Alexanders des Großen wurde die islamische Herrschaft legitimiert. Die Reise eines seiner Nachkommen nach Madjapahit—dem letzten Hindu-Reich auf Java—weist auf den damaligen Einflußbereich dieser Religion bis nach Ost-Java hin. Man setzt das Ende der Madjapahit-Zeit um das Jahr 1500 an, vielleicht verursacht durch die Expansion der islamischen Fürsten von Demak an der Nordküste Mittel-Javas⁴³. Über den Zeitraum, den Fall des Madjapahit-Reiches betreffend, herrscht noch Unsicherheit, denn "es fehlen genaue Angaben über die Ereignisse in Madjapahit im 15. Jahrhundert"⁴⁴.

Die Aceh-Kriege während der holländischen Kolonialzeit auf Nordsumatra, deren Ausbruch die Herrschaft über den Pfefferhandel auslöste, begannen wohl aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen, bekamen aber schnell den Charakter eines "Djihat" (heiligen Krieges) für die Kämpfenden, waren blutig und dauerten von 1873 bis 1904!⁴⁵. Auch die jüngsten Ereignisse von 1965 auf Java lassen nicht zu, den Islam in Südostasien als eine "dünne Politur" über den allbeherrschenden—aber nach Ansicht der europäischen Forscher harmlosen—Adat zu sehen. "Für manche Völker ist der Islam einfach die Perfektion des Adat"⁴⁶.

Im Falle der Lampung-Völker fügen die Berichterstatter und Ethnologen zu dem, was die Menschen als richtig und echt glauben, ihre eigene Auffassung von Richtigkeit und Echtheit hinzu, in der Überzeugung, auf dieser Weise größere Klarheit zu schaffen. Bei genauerer Auswertung der Quellen jedoch, erweist sich diese Klarheit als Verzerrung.

43. Ricklefs M. C., *wie vorher*, S. 17; und Wagner F., *wie vorher*, S. 148.

44. Ricklefs M. C., *wie vorher*, S. 32.

45. Ricklefs M. C., *wie vorher*, S. 137, 138.

46. Ellen R. F., *wie vorher*, S. 64.

ANMERKUNG

Über den Einfluß des Alexanderromans auf die europäische Malerei und Literatur sei nur am Rande bemerkt, daß bei einer Ausstellung mit Werken der europäischen Historienmalerei von Rubens bis Manet, welche 1988 in Köln unter dem Titel "Triumph und Tod des Helden" gezeigt wurde, es sieben Gemälde gab, deren Sujet das Leben Alexanders des Großen zum Inhalt hatten. Im Katalog der Ausstellung waren sechs davon abgebildet, während eine ganze Reihe von weiteren Alexander-Bildern von den Autoren erwähnt wurden.

1661 präsentierte der französische Maler Charles Le Brun Ludwig XIV. sein Bild "Die Königinnen von Persien zu Füßen Alexanders". "Die Identifizierung des Prinzen mit diesem Helden war dort geschickt nahegelegt worden". "Wie der 'Alexander' oder der 'Titus' von Racine, ist der 'Alexander' von Le Brun auch eine Allegorie, um den König als Kriegsherrn zu verherrlichen". (Alain Mérot, *Der Held in der französischen Malerei des 17. Jh., Ausstellungskatalog*, Köln 1987, S. 34).

"Alexander rangiert in der Beliebtheitsskala der Theaterliteratur der Zeit gleich mit Kleopatra oder Dido und Äneas..." (E.M., *Ausstellungskatalog*, Köln 1987, S. 285).

Ebenso groß war der Einfluß des Alexanderromans des Pseudo-Kallisthenes auf die persische Miniaturmalerei des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Auszugsweise erwähnen wir hier einige Themen: Alexander (Iskandar) baut den Wall gegen die Gog und Magog; Iskandar reitet nach Mekka; Kampf Alexanders gegen Darius; Iskandar tötet den Drachen; Zweikampf zwischen Alexander und Porus; Alexander auf dem Thron sitzend; das Begräbnis Alexanders (A. A. Pallis: Athen, 1935).

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RONALD C. JENNINGS

PILGRIMS VIEW THE WOMEN OF THE ISLAND OF VENUS*

Pilgrimages from Latin Europe to Jerusalem were much in vogue during the 14th and 15th centuries. Not a few pilgrims prepared accounts of their travels, to illuminate or amaze friends and neighbors. Cyprus, ruled between 1191 and 1489 by kings of the famous French Crusader family Lusignan, and thereafter as a Venetian colony, was on the route of many pilgrims. They crossed the Mediterranean sea by islands: the Venetian colony of Crete (Candia), Rhodes of the Knights Hospitallers¹, and then Cyprus, the easternmost outpost of Latin Christendom². The foreign Latin aristocracy of Cyprus lived in luxury and splendor which amazed the rather unsophisticated pilgrims, although the lot of the native Greek Orthodox Christians of Cyprus was a hard one.

Latin Christian pilgrims visited Cyprus for several reasons. Seafaring in the Mediterranean still involved sailing close to the shore, stopping frequently at small ports on the mainland and crossing near islands, truly a coasting trade. Because of its tempestuous reputation vessels scrupulously avoided the Mediterranean sea east of Rhodes between Cyprus and the mainland of Anatolia (Asia Minor). Therefore, almost all vessels plying the sea between Rhodes and the Levant coast touched port on the southeast coast of the island of Cyprus. Sea routes from both the Aegean sea and the central and western Mediterranean converged at Rhodes and followed a single route past tiny Meis island (Kastelorizo) to Cyprus; likewise the westward bound vessels of all the ports of the Levant from Ayas and Iskenderun (Alexandretta) in the north to Dumyat (Damietta) and Iskandariya (Alexandria) in Egypt to the south converged on the southeast coast of Cyprus.

Cyprus had become an emporium of international trade where merchants

* I wish to thank Prof. Marcella Grendler for some valuable advice.

1. Those refugees from the Holy Land captured Rhodes in about 1310. After the fall of Rhodes in 1522 to Ottoman forces of Suleyman the Lawgiver, they migrated again, to Malta. Popularly they were called Knights of Rhodes, later Knights of Malta.

2. In 1291 the Crusaders lost Akka (Acre), their last territory on the Levant coast, to the Mamluk dynasty of Cairo.

from all over the Middle East met others from all over the Mediterranean in Famagusta and Nicosia, two splendidly wealthy cities whose bazaars and shops held luxury goods from all over the world. There Latin pilgrims bought supplies, first for their trips eastward into the land of the infidel and then for their long return voyages to the west. Some also purchased costly spices and fine cloth of silk, linen, cotton or wool. Sometimes those pilgrims visited the holy places of Cyprus, particularly shrines, tombs, churches, and monasteries associated with the life and martyrdom of the apostle Barnabas, and the prison and tomb of St. Catherine, both Cypriot natives, all in the vicinity of ancient Salamis. Some visited the Orthodox monastery of St. Nicolas, south of Limassol near Cape Gata, where cats were believed daily to fight and destroy the numerous snakes which otherwise would have overrun the monastery and killed the monks.

Cyprus' past, however, was not pristine. According to Homer, Paphos in Cyprus was the native city of Aphrodite. According to Hesiod she was born from the foam of the sea but landed first on Cyprus. There, too, were her chief centers of worship, where sacred prostitutes served. Among Christians that association with the goddess of sexual love and beauty long tainted their perception of the island and its people. The Latin pilgrims knew that history.

Some foreigners viewed Cyprus clearly and perceptively and provided invaluable evidence about the local society and economy, as well as about religious practices and folk customs. They travelled around if they had the opportunity, asked questions about what they did not understand, and observed patiently. Others perpetuated fantastic misconceptions. When told to expect a certain marvel, they inevitably reported seeing it. Still others, lazy perhaps, copied from travel narratives which had fascinated them. (Of course, sometimes that traveller too had never reached the places he claimed to describe). The common Christian faith of Latin and Orthodox was more a cause for calumny and hatred than for mutual love³. Most travellers had too little

3. For examples of Latin oppression and Latin-Greek Orthodox antipathy in Cyprus see: Elizabeth Chapin Furber, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291", in Kenneth Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades* (Philadelphia, 1962), v. 2, pp. 602f., 608, 621f., 625ff. Sir Harry Luke, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1291-1369", in K. Setton, ed., *A History of the Crusades* (Madison, 1975), v. 3, p. 350; Luke, "The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1369-1489", v. 3, pp. 362, 376f., 394. For Latin-Orthodox hostilities in general see Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 1ff. Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1261-1354", in K. Setton, ed., v. 3, pp. 32f.; "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1354-1453", v. 3, pp. 92ff. See also George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, v. 3, ch. 16 "The Two Churches, 1220-1571", pp. 1041-1104, Cambridge, 1948.

time in Cyprus to observe much or to ask the opinions of other foreigners. For most people in Latin Europe who had even heard of the island, Cyprus was a distant place about which they would never hear more than vague rumors. A traveller who reported seeing in the East the same kinds of fantastic sights others had reported (like unicorns, or sensual women in Cyprus, or fierce cats at a certain Cypriot monastery which kept the entire grounds clear of poisonous snakes) no doubt established his own veracity and enhanced his own esteem in some popular or even literary circles. Consciously or unconsciously, some travellers aimed their accounts at particular audiences at home.

For Wilbrand, count of Oldenburg, canon of Hildesheim, (and in 1228 bishop of Utrecht), whose pilgrimage in 1211 took place only shortly after the Lusignans had seized Cyprus, the island not only had been a disreputable place but to some extent still remained one. He felt little sympathy for the Cypriots: "They all obey the Franks, and pay tribute like slaves. Whence you can see that the Franks are the lords of this land, whom the Greeks and Armenians obey as serfs. They are rude in their habits, and shabby in their dress, sacrificing chiefly to their lusts. We shall ascribe this to the wine of that country which provokes to luxury, or rather to those who drink it. It is for this reason that Venus was said to be worshipped in Cyprus. And she herself was called Cypris, as it is said, 'the goddess Cypris yields to Mars, or to her own arts'. For the wines of this island are so thick and rich that they are sometimes specially prepared to be eaten like honey with bread"⁴.

An important source for the history of Cyprus is a credulous account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land (between 1336 and 1341) by Ludolf von Suchen, a simple German priest from Westphalia. By his report Famagusta was "...the richest of all cities, and her citizens the richest of men ... A citizen once betrothed his daughter, and the jewels of her head-dress were valued by the French knights who came with us as more precious than all the ornaments of the Queen of France... But I dare not to speak of their precious stones and golden tissues and other riches, for it were a thing unheard of and incredible. In this city dwell many wealthy courtesans, of whom some possess more than one hundred thousand florins. I dare not speak of their riches". According to Ludolf, Cypriots drank a wine excellent but so strong that "...commonly

4. C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria. Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 13f. In Paphos "...they still show there the tower on which in the days of heathen ignorance Venus was worshipped by her lovers".

men mix one part of wine with nine of water... In all the world are no greater or better drinkers than in Cyprus". Obviously the people of Cyprus, particularly those who lived near Paphos of Venus, were extremely passionate too. Let a warning be given to all. "For the soil of Cyprus, and especially where the castle is, if a man sleep thereon, of its own self will all night through provoke a man to lust". People used to come from distant lands to adore an idol of Venus there until Paul and Barnabus had converted the people of Christ: "SS. Paul and Barnabus turned this city to the faith of Christ, and thence was the whole world turned to that faith, as is shown in the Acts of the Apostles"⁵.

Jacobus of Verona, an Augustian monk from northern Italy, spent twenty days in Cyprus in June and July of 1335. Jacobus, who only mixed his Cyprus wine with four parts water, indeed met the king, Lord Hugh IV, and preached in his chapel. He observed ladies of Famagusta on the streets, "...and thus go all the ladies of Cyprus, showing nothing but their eyes, and when they go out of doors they always wear this black cloak; and this from the time that the Christians lost Acre (1291)..." Nevertheless, the fall of Akka (Acre) hardly seems a logical cause for the custom of women covering themselves when outside their houses. Perhaps the Latins had already assimilated a local custom⁶.

Nicholas de Martoni, a notary of Carinola in Campania, who spent over three weeks in Cyprus in November and December of 1394, provides important details on the women of Famagusta: "There is one custom in force in this city, and throughout the island, that no woman can go out of the city of Famagusta without the leave of the Commandant, and cannot escape giving bail in the Commandant's court for her return to the city: and this is rarely granted to any woman. The reason alleged is that men cannot live in that city but for the women who spin and prepare wool for the camlet, for they have

5. Cobham, pp. 18ff; *De Itinere Terre Sanctae*, Ferdinand Deycks, ed., in *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1851), v. 25, pp. 30, 32ff. Sometimes it seems that R. J. H. Jenkins may have read only such sources for his account of women in Byzantium in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, v. 4, pt. 2, pp. 88ff. There he wrote: "In all ranks of society harlotry was rife, and was certainly encouraged by the rigorous seclusion of women in polite society. No respectable women ever appeared in the streets unveiled". In describing the patriarchal family he categorically stated that women always kept their eyes downcast and served their husbands meals like servants, although perhaps having some happiness in their family life.

6. Cobham, pp. 16f; R. Röhrich, ed., "Le Pèlerinage du moine Augustin Jacques de Vérone (1335)", in *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895), pp. 157, 176f, 178f.

hardly any other means of living. There is another reason too for keeping up the men in the city, which for decency's sake I pass over in silence". Nicolas found women dressed as Jacobus of Verona had described them, "...a custom that all women, as well of that town of Famagosta as of the other towns of the island, wear black mantles on their heads so that their faces can hardly be seen. And this custom began and has been followed on account of the sorrow and dire grief for the loss of that city of Acre and other cities of Syria, and the greater part of the city of Famagosta was made up of the people of Acre". Famagosta is located near a large marsh. "And it is held that on account of that marsh, and the great number of courtesans, a bad air affects the men who dwell in that city"⁷.

On the subject of the women of Cyprus the humanist Aeneas Sylbius Piccolomini (Pius II, d. 1463), otherwise notable for his "analyses of the chief problems" of the lands of Christendom, including Cyprus, wrote: "The women are exceedingly wanton". They were accustomed to giving themselves to foreign sailors who reached the island, for it was the sacred place of Venus⁸.

Felix Faber, Dominican monk of Ulm, saw Cyprus on more than one pilgrimage. In an account of his visit in 1483 he describes Venus' tomb: "When Venus, queen and goddess of the Cypriots, threw aside all modesty and entertained a number of lovers, she took among them to her adulterous arms the god Mars"⁹.

Fra Francesco Suriano was a Venetian patrician who had travelled frequently to the Levant. His pilgrimage came after his entry into the Franciscan order; he visited Cyprus in August, 1484. "Hence sprang Venus, the goddess of lust". Suriano scorned the slothful people. "The women are lewd. The country and climate of themselves incline to fleshly lust, and nearly every one lives in concubinage. In the days of king Jacques [James II, the last Lusignan] the women went about attired in a seductive manner like nymphs. Now they go decently dressed"¹⁰.

7. Cobham, pp. 22, 24; L. Legrand, ed., "Relation du Pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni notaire Italien (1394-1395), *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895), pp. 566f, 577f, 628f, 632.

8. Theophilus A. H. Mogabgab, *Supplementary Excerpts on Cyprus or further materials for a history of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1943), v. 2, p. 78; *Cosmographia Pii Papae in Asiae et Europae eleganti descriptione* (1509), p. 78. K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)* (Philadelphia, 1978), v. 2, p. 206n.

9. Cobham, p. 43; *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, C. D. Hassler, ed., in *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* (Stuttgart, 1843), v. 3, pp. 239-244.

10. Cobham, p. 49; *Il Trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, P. Girolamo Golubovich, ed., (Milano, 1900), p. 243n.

A sonnet on the island of Cyprus printed in Venice about the time of the travels of Faber and Suriano typically alludes to Cyprus' lingering fame. The author, Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti, included Cyprus in his book of islands: "This is that Acamantis which charmed so much delicate and tender Venus... Here are sugar, much salt, and wealth, for Ceres showers here [her!] store of grain. Here a wine black when made grows light of itself. Here the women are not chary of their favours"¹¹.

A slightly different account is given in the book of islands of the Paduan Benedetto Bordone, first published in Venice in 1528: "Here formerly was built a temple to Venus on which rain never fell. Venus was called hence Cypria, and the first woman who made a habit of selling her body for money was in this island"¹².

More detail was offered by Zaccheria Lilio, who in 1552 published a school book on geography: "Cyprus is an island sacred to Venus, ...the most famous of all the islands of the world, abounding in wealth and much given to sports and pleasures.... The island teems with delicacies; the women are very lustful, and so we read in Justin that Cypriot girls, before they marry, are wont to lend themselves to the unholy pleasures of foreigners who touch there in ships, so that our ancestors were not without reason in saying that the island was sacred to Venus"¹³.

"The Cypriot race is addicted to good living and sensual gratification...", according to the pilgrim Jodicus de Meggen, a patrician of Lucerne who travelled around Cyprus in 1542¹⁴.

Englishman John Locke was in Cyprus from August 12 to 14 and September 25 to October 16, 1553 while making a pilgrimage. He noticed that women were separated from men in churches: "Their women are alwayes separated from the men, and generally they are in the lower end of the church"¹⁵.

A move with his family from Venice to Palestine by the Jew Elias of Pesaro was interrupted by a severe outbreak of plague in Syria. In a letter of October 18, 1563 from Famagusta Elias told in detail of his extended stay there, noting some strict precautions which had to be taken with the local women: "They do not allow their women to show themselves in town by day;

11. Cobham, p. 50; *Isolario* (Venice, 1485) (Amsterdam, 1972), last map.

12. Cobham, 62; *Libro di B.B. ...l'Isola de Mondo...* (Vinegia, 1528), p. LXVI.

13. Cobham, p. 67; F. Baldelli, tr., *Breve Descrittione del Mondo* (Vinegia, 1552), p. 28.

14. Mogabgab (Nicosia, 1945), v. 3, p. 148.

15. Cobham, p. 69; *Voyage...*, in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations...* (London, 1553), v. 5, p. 86.

only by night can they visit their friends and go to church. They say this is by way of modesty, but it is really to avoid the frequent adulteries, for their life is thoroughly perverse. They are all liars, cheats, thieves. Honesty has vanished from their midst". According to Elias the wine "...is very strong, and must be diluted with two-thirds of water"¹⁶.

A popular geographical account of islands published in Venice in successive posthumous editions after the Venetian loss of Cyprus in 1571 is the work of Tommaso Porcacchi, which, although it gives much detail on the history and economy of Cyprus, still fails to separate myth from reality completely: "The city of old Paphos, built on the seashore looking south near C. Calidonio, was a royal residence, dedicated to the goddess Venus, with a lovely garden. Here the other goddesses, while Venus was away, caught Cupid (so the story runs), bound his eyes with a scarf, and set him on the top of a myrtle tree. Now the air is corrupted by exhalations from the marshes: such changes befall things, that the most charming spot in the island is now scarcely habitable! New Paphos, built by Agapenor, the captain of the fleet of Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, was one the nine royal capitals, and is even yet standing, and ranks as a city. Here men and women sacrificed naked to Venus, but at the prayer of S. Barnabas the Apostle, a native of Cyprus, the temple fell, and the scandal ceased. Two leagues from this was Cythera, where Venus was brought up, and whence, according to Hesiod, both the goddess and the island took their names. ... Venus, they say, was born in the Cypriot city Aphrodision: Cupid was her son, who (be the story false or true) might have personified the lascivious temper and habits of the islanders, who allowed their virgin daughters, to win their own dowers, and to yield themselves on the seashore to the embraces of foreigners who landed there. Afterwards they were married"¹⁷.

A Local Parallel

A chronicle compiled by an Orthodox Cypriot native describes events on Cyprus up to 1432. In a digression Leontios Makhairas, the chronicler, writes: "Learn then from me what befalls men who love women and believe what

16. Cobham, p. 75; Moise Schwab, ed. and tr., "Voyage Ethnographique de Venise à Chypre", *Revue de Géographie* 4 (1879), pp. 207, 225. Perhaps the women just wished to avoid the heat of day.

17. Cobham, pp. 164, 168. Cobham uses the 1590 edition; the earliest edition, of 1571, does not include that section.

they say. For women love men furiously; then they try to get rid of them; and give them magic potions to drink, with ten thousands wicked tricks; and they wheedle them, and finally for a mere word they kill them. And they do as the she-bear does: when she is on heat, she fondles her mate, the male animal; and when he has covered her and she is off heat, then she kills him. But the love of a man goes very deep; for his love for the woman waxes little by little until a perfect love is brought to its perfect end, or his hate waxes little by little until he leaves her completely. But the ladder of a woman's (love) has but one step: if she loves you, (she practices a thousand wicked wiles to make you love her, and right in the midst of them) she kills you. And if she hates you, she tries to get rid of you, and nothing will stop her". Although Makhairas writes of men and women in universal moral terms, he had little chance to leave the island during his long lifetime except for an embassy he made in 1483 to the Turkman principality of Karaman in central Anatolia, so presumably his experiences with women were limited to Cyprus¹⁸.

Conclusion

The passage of time did not result in clearer perceptions. Myths remained even regarding a place so accessible and so frequently visited as Cyprus. A series of men perpetuated the misconceptions of earlier times without investigating carefully. Sometimes mystery and romance added a little glamour to the misconceptions. The idea of the extreme sensuality of Cypriots, particularly Cypriot women, linked with that of the fabulous wealth of the island, created a fanciful and inaccurate image. The ideas of the depravity of the East and its corrupting effects seem not to have weakened even at the end of the period of Venetian colonization. Probably those writings found eager audiences.

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18. Hill, *A History of Cyprus...*, v. 3, p. 1145. Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. and tr. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), p. 575.

MARINA MARINESCU

NEUE ERKENNTNISSE ÜBER DEN SIEBENBÜRGISCHEN HUMANISTEN STEPHAN BERGLER (1680-1738)

Anliegen dieses Aufsatzes ist es, zusätzliche Erkenntnisse über das Leben und die Tätigkeit des siebenbürgischen Humanisten Stephan Bergler (1680-1738) zu liefern. Es handelt sich dabei um neue Informationen aus der zeitgenössischen und heutigen Literatur, sowie um einige kürzlich entdeckte Briefe, die einen besseren Einblick in Berglers Leben und Persönlichkeit erlauben.

Stephan Bergler wurde in Siebenbürgen geboren. Nach seinem Studium in Leipzig zeichnete er sich als hervorragender Gräzist aus und als solcher arbeitete er zusammen mit den bekanntesten Herausgebern und klassischen Philologen seiner Zeit in Deutschland und Holland. Im Jahre 1722 bekam Bergler eine Einladung an den Hof des phanariotischen Fürsten Nikolaos Mavrokordatos¹ nach Bukarest, wo er die Erziehung von dessen Söhne übernahm und Kulturberater des Fürsten wurde. In den dort verbrachten Jahren (1722-1738) pflegte er weiterhin sowohl in seinem eigenen Namen als auch im Namen des Fürsten die Beziehungen zu Persönlichkeiten im Kulturbereich in Westeuropa.

Dieser Beitrag beabsichtigt somit, Näheres über die von Bergler als Editor klassischer Texte in Westeuropa verbrachte Zeit mitzuteilen und auch über einige Umstände seines Lebens in der Walachei zu berichten. Da die Beziehungen zwischen der Walachei und Westeuropa trotz zahlreicher Studien nur partiell bekannt sind, kann Berglers Tätigkeit als wertvoller Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Walachei in Europa betrachtet werden.

Im 18. Jahrhundert—etwa 50 Jahre nach seinem Tode—sind sowohl in der deutschen philologischen Literatur als auch in der siebenbürgischen Literatur mehrere kurze Biographien oder Erwähnungen seines Namens zu finden².

1. Nikolaos Mavrokordatos herrschte in der Moldau zwischen 1709-1710 und 1711-1715 und in der Walachei zwischen 1715-1716 und 1719-1730. Er hat sich u.a. durch seine besonders aktive Kulturpolitik einen Namen gemacht (u.a. setzte er sich für die Entwicklung des Schulsystems ein). Bergler wurde also zu ihm während seiner letzten Herrschaftsperiode in der Walachei berufen.

2. Über Bergler gibt es u.a. Informationen in: *Nouveau Dictionnaire historique...* Caen

Im 19. Jahrhundert liest man seinen Namen z.B. in einem Artikel von Andreas Thorwächter im "Siebenbürgischen Intelligenzblatt", Braşov, Nr. 14, 1802, S. 101-111 (Beilage zu Nr. 27 des *Siebenbürgischen Boten*) und in der *Geschichte der Moldau und Walachei* (In: *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reiches und seiner Nebenländer*. Halle 1804, Bd. 2: S. 16) von J. Chr. Engel, sowie in dem *Schriftstellerlexikon oder biographisch-literarische Denkbücher der siebenbürgischen Deutschen* (Kronstadt 1868, Bd. I: S. 114-128) von J. Trausch und im *Nomenclator philologorum*. Leipzig 1871: S. 41 von F. A. Eckstein. Kulturhistoriker des 20. Jhs. hat Berglers Tätigkeit nur gelegentlich interessiert (vgl.

1779: S. 421; Peter Burmann (Petrus Burmannus Secundus): Vorwort zu *Aristophanes*. Lugdunum Batavorum 1760: S. 2-14 Folgende kurze Zusammenfassung über Bergler stammt von ihm:

"Est hic Stephanus Berglerus Transilvanus, Hermanstadiensis (falsch!), qui Homeri editionem Barnesianam erudite recensuit, atque in Acta nostra Latina retulit. Vivebat eo tempore vir hic Graece doctissimus in hac Academia (Lipsiensi) deque Graecis literis egregie merebatur. Ego ipse cognovi hominem, in Graecis quidem literis praecipuum, at moribus impolitum, atque ex ejus usu, quum hanc linguam in hac Academia colerem, non parum profeci. Post aliquot annos hinc Hamburgum ad Fabricium, deinde Amstelodamum ad Kusterum ivit. Hinc vero Lipsiam rediens Graecos quosdam auctores (Aristophanem nempe & Herodotum) Th. Fritschii sumtu, praelo paravit, qui et Seren. Principis Valachiensis Alex. Maurocordati Τὸ περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων βιβλίον Latine ipsi vertendum dedit, an. 1722. formis hic descriptum. Pro quo labore quum Princeps valde liberalis eximium ei pretium solvisset, consilium tandem Cl. Berglerus capiebat in Valachiam ad ipsum proficiendi, commodam ibi plures hujusmodi libros convertendi nactus occasionem. Hoc autem in vivis non amplius reperto, Constantinopolim se contulit, ac, si famae tunc emananti credendum, Mohammedicam adscivit religionem" (S. 3-4).

Veyssi re de la Croze: *Thesaurus epistolicus Lacrozianus*. Lipsiae 1742. Bd. 2: S. 81-83; Alexius Horanyi: *Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum ...* Viennae 1775, Bd. 1: S. 279-284; Alexius Horanyi: *Nova memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum ...* Pest 1792, Teil 1: S. 434-440; Jo. Matth. Gessner: *Isagoges in eruditionem universalem nominatim philologiam, historiam et philosophiam in usum praelectionum ductae*. Lipsiae 1774. Bd. 1: S. 422-424; Seivert Johann: *Sechszentner Brief. Fragmente von Stephan Bergler aus Kronstadter Geschichte*. In: *Ungarisches Magazin oder Beitr ge zur ungarischen Geschichte, Geographie, Naturwissenschaften und der dahin einschlagenden Literatur*. Pre burg 1782. Bd. 2: S. 504-510; Seivert Johann: *Nachrichten von Siebenb rgischen Gelehrten und ihren Schriften*. Pre burg 1785: S. 25-30; Paulus Wallaszky. In: *Conspectus Reipublicae literariae in Hungaria, ab initio regni ad nostra usque tempora delineatus*. Posonii et Lipsiae 1785: S. 243-244; Wittstock, O. Jun.: *Ein Kronst dter Original des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Kronst dter Zeitung* von 4.11.1930/1940(?); Jo. Conrad Zeltnerus: C. D. *Correctorum in typographis eruditorum centuria specimenis loco, collecta ...* N rnberg 1741: S. 87-90.

z.B. Iorga 1929: 171-173; 229-232; ders. 1921, Bd. 2: 106; ders. 1934-1935: S. 739; Candrea & Adamescu (1931: S. 1525)).

Mit dem Leben und der Person Berglers hat sich besonders F. J. Sulzer, in der *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens* (Mss. Bibliothek der Rumänischen Akademie, Bd. 4: S. 267) beschäftigt, der Informationen von den Brüdern und der Schwester Berglers sowie von Paulus Roth, Rektor des evangelischen Gymnasiums in Kronstadt, sammelte. Im Jahr 1943 erschien in Bukarest die Studie von Maria Marinescu-Himu³: *Der Humanist Ștefan Bergler (1680-1738). Sein Leben und seine Tätigkeit*, die Ergebnis der Untersuchung eines umfangreichen Archivmaterials über Bergler aus Rumänien, Deutschland und Holland war. Die Arbeit blieb jedoch in Westeuropa fast unbekannt und auch in den rumänischen Enzyklopädien ist heute Berglers Name kaum zu finden (vgl. z.B. *Mic dicționar enciclopedic*, Bukarest 1986).

Zunächst ein etwas ausführlicherer Überblick über die wichtigsten Etappen in Berglers Leben:

Brașov (1680-1700). Stephan Bergler wurde in Blumăna bei Brașov/Kronstadt als Sohn des "Rumänen Ion" geboren. Sein Vater, der nicht lesen konnte (vgl. Marinescu 1943: 166), war Bäcker. Bergler hatte noch zwei Brüder, Laurențiu und Jacob, und eine Schwester. Er war Schüler des Lyceums "Honterus"⁴ in Brașov⁵, wo er durch sein Interesse für die Klassiker des Altertums auffiel. Da die Schüler der ersten Klassen am Lyceum "Honterus" in "communes" und "adolescentes" eingeteilt waren, wurde Bergler im Jahre 1695 zum "rex adolescentium" ernannt, was ihn als einen ausgezeichneten Schüler hervorhob. Seine Bemühungen haben den Lehrer Markus Fronius

3. Frau Dr. Maria Marinescu-Himu war zwischen 1934 und 1972 an der Fakultät für klassische Philologie der Universität von Bukarest tätig. Als Autorin zahlreicher Studien und Universitätslehrbücher und Übersetzerin von klassischer und moderner griechischer Literatur, hat sie sich intensiv für die kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Griechenland und Rumänien eingesetzt. Seit 1978 lebt sie in Athen, wo sie in griechischen Zeitschriften veröffentlicht und als Übersetzerin rumänischer Literatur tätig ist.

4. Ioan Honterus (1498-1549), dessen Namen das Lyceum trägt, war ein bekannter deutscher Humanist aus Siebenbürgen. Anhänger der lutheranischen Bewegung hat er die deutsche Kirche in Brașov (1542) reformiert. In seiner Heimatstadt Brașov hat er 1535 eine Druckerei und ein humanistisches Gymnasium gegründet. Sein Werk "Rudimenta Cosmographiae" (1530) war als Schulbuch für Geographie und Astronomie sowohl in Südosteuropa als auch in Deutschland verbreitet. Honterus hat auch ein Schulbuch mit polyphonischen Liedern (*Odae cum harmoniis*) verfaßt (*Mic dicționar enciclopedic*, Bukarest 1986: 811-812).

5. Das Lyceum hieß zunächst "Schola Coronensis", ab 1586, in der Zeit des Rektors Dominicus Prodnerus, bekam es den Namen "Gymnasium Coronense" (vgl. Dück 1845, nach Marinescu 1943:166).

auf ihn aufmerksam gemacht, der den jungen Bergler bei seinen speziellen Kursen unter seine Schüler aufnahm (vgl. Seivert 1782: 505; Gross 1925: 32). Die Kurse, die er in Rosenau bei Braşov hielt, waren für diejenigen Jugendlichen gedacht, die an deutschen Universitäten studieren wollten. Gleichzeitig knüpfte Bergler Kontakte zu den dortigen griechischen Händlern an, bei denen er auch seine Bücher bestellte, um so seine Kenntnisse in Griechisch zu vertiefen.

1. Aufenthalt in Leipzig (ca. 1698-ca. 1705). Im Universitätsjahr 1700/1701 befand sich Bergler in Leipzig, wo er sich an der dortigen Universität eingeschrieben hatte. Er erweckte die Aufmerksamkeit seines Geschichtsprofessors Johannes Burkhard Mencke⁶, durch den er allmählich in den Kreis der Gräzisten aufgenommen und Mitarbeiter der Zeitschrift "Acta eruditorum" wurde. Darin veröffentlichte er im Laufe der Zeit Buchbesprechungen, meist im Zusammenhang mit seinen eigenen Arbeiten. Bergler stellte einen *Catalogus scriptorum in scholiis graecis ad Sophoclem citatorum* ("Bibliotheca graeca", Jahr 1705, vgl. Harless Bd. 2, 1966: S. 230-233) und einen *Index auctorum, qui citantur in scholiis ineditis ad primos XVI. libros Iliadis Homeri* ("Bibliotheca graeca" Jahr 1705, vgl. Harless 1966: 453-456) zusammen. Außerdem arbeitete er offenbar auch für einen *Index scriptorum in scholiis ad Aristophanem laudatorum allegatorum* ("Bibliotheca graeca", 1705, vgl. Harless Bd. 2, 1966: 392-404).

Bergler lernte in diesen Jahren den bekannten deutschen Editor klassischer Texte, Johannes Albert Fabricius⁷ kennen, bei dem er zusammen mit Christoph Wolfius (1683-1739)⁸ arbeitete, und Thomas Fritsch, der sich eben-

6. Johannes Burkhard Mencke (1674-1732) war Historiker, Professor für Geschichte und Historiograf. Er setzte die von seinem Vater Otto Mencke gegründete Zeitschrift "Acta eruditorum" fort und gab mehrere Bände historischer Quellen heraus (s. dazu Mencke 1734: S. I-LVII, Witkowski 1909, Hermes 1934). "Acta Eruditorum" wurde danach von seinem Sohn, Friederich Otto Mencke herausgegeben.

7. Johannes Albert Fabricius (1668-1736), Doctor Theologiae, Professor der Logik am akademischen Gymnasium in Hamburg und Professor an der Academia Lipsiensis, bekannt durch die Herausgabe der Zeitschrift "Acta eruditorum", der Reihen "Bibliotheca graeca" und "Bibliotheca latina", sowie durch die Herausgabe mehrerer Editionen klassischer Autoren. Eine Biographie des Fabricius wurde von seinem Schwiegersohn, dem Professor Hermann Samuel Reimar 1737 veröffentlicht (s. dazu ADB Bd. 6, 1968: 518-521).

8. Folgende Beschreibung Berglers stammt von Wolfius:

"Berglerum Graecum hominem ob Graecae linguae studium, cui ita se totum inpendit, ut reliquarum artium, earum in primis, quae animum emendant, oblitus videatur. --- Hominem Graecum non Graecam sed Punicam fidem Atticae tuae

falls mit der Herausgabe der "Acta eruditorum" beschäftigte und der mit seiner Hilfe (als "corrector"), den Druck mehrerer antiker Autoren plante. Dafür durfte Bergler bei ihm wohnen. Von diesen Philologen wurde er aufgrund seiner besonderen Kenntnisse in der klassischen Philologie sehr geschätzt, aber man erzählte auch, daß er ein unordentliches Leben führte. Solange Bergler Geld hatte, verbrachte er seine Zeit offensichtlich in Gasthäusern. Erst als ihm fast nur noch ein Hemd blieb, zog er sich in seine schmutzige Stube zurück und fing wieder zu arbeiten an. Er war bekannt als "moribus impolitis" und als eine Person, die "vitam egit cynicam" (Kromayerus 1721: XXIX, vgl. unten bei Musaios)⁹.

Amsterdam (um 1705-1713). Empfohlen von Fritsch, zog Bergler nach Amsterdam, wo er anfangs für den Editor Johann H. (Heinz) Wettstein zu arbeiten. Hier lernte er Neocorus Kusterus kennen, der 1696 eine *Historia critica Homeri* herausgegeben hatte, weiterhin Jacob Perizonius, der ihm bei der Veröffentlichung von Alkiphron behilflich war, sowie Tiberius Hemsterhuis, mit dem er beim *Onomasticon* von Julius Pollux arbeitete. Im Jahr 1706 erschien in Wettsteins Verlagshaus die Ausgabe des *Onomasticon* von Julius Pollux¹⁰, für die Bergler einen Index zusammenstellte, und im Jahr 1707 eine

opposuisse mirarer magis, nisi idem mihi ita cognitus esset, ut pro homine tantum Graeco, nec ullo alio disciplinae genere exculito habendus videatur" (in: de la Croze 1742: Bd. 2, S. 81-83).

9. Die folgende Beschreibung Berglers stammt von seinem Landsmann und Kollegen, später Professor an der Universität von Halle, Martin Schmeizel (1679-1749):

"von Person sah Bergler klein und hager aus, die ungemaine Lebensdiät, beständiges Tabakrauchen und vieles Kaffeetrinken hat ihn ganz ausgetrocknet. Hierzu kam sein temperamentum melancholico-cholericum und in seiner Visage fand man linamenta Socratis. Die Natur hatte ihn ad studium criticum gemacht, daher er auch eben solche Conduit geführt wie die grossen Critici; diese sind eigensinnig, einbilderisch, hassen den Umgang mit honetten Menschen, weil sie vom Decore nichts machen"

(Schmeizel o. J., o. S., nach Marinescu 1943: 167).

10. *Julii Pollucis Onomasticum, Graece et Latine.* Post egregiam illam Wolfgangi Seberi editionem denuo immane quantum emendatum, suppletum, & illustratum, ut docebunt Praefationes. Praeter W. Seberi notas olim editas; accedit commentarius doctissimus Gothofredi Jungermanni, nunc tandem a tenebris vindicatus. Itemque alius Joachimi Kühnii, subsidio Codicis Ms. Antwerpiensis; variantium lectionum Isaaci Vossii; Annotatorum Cl. Salmasii & H. Valesii, & C. concinnatus. Omnia contulerunt ac in ordinem redegerunt, varias praeterea Lectiones easque insignes Codicis Falckenburgiani, tum & suas notas adjecerunt, editionemque curaverunt, septem quidem prioribus libris Joh. Henricus Lederlinus, Linguar. Orient. in Acad. Argentoratensi Prof. P. Et post eum reliquis Tiberius Hemsterhuis, Philos. & Mathes. in Ill. Amstelae. Athenaeo prof. P. Cum indicibus novis illisque locupletissimis ex offic. Wetsteniana, 1706 (Buchbesprechung u.a. in "Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1707: S. 1-8).

griechisch-lateinische Ausgabe des Homer¹¹. 1711 kam in Cambridge eine weitere Edition von Homer heraus, die von J. Barnes vorbereitet wurde¹². Bergler schrieb dazu eine Buchbesprechung in "Acta eruditorum" (Jahr 1712: S. 1-7). Darin emendierte er den Text mit Hilfe der *Scholien zu Ilias* von Manuel Moschopoulos¹³ und einiger bis dahin unbekannter Texte, die er in der "Bibliotheca Paulina" in Leipzig entdeckt hatte. Zusätzlich überprüfte er die Abbreviationen von J. Barnes und wies auf Orthographie- und Druckfehler hin.

Im Jahr 1709 erschien eine Edition der Fragmente von Menander und Philemon, die von Jean Le Clerc aufgrund der Excerpte von Hugo Grotius und des Index von Meursius und Fabricius herausgegeben wurde¹⁴. Diese Edition, die zeigte, daß Le Clerc das Material nicht genügend kannte, wurde von R. Bentley / Phileleutheros Lipsiensis / äußerst ungünstig beurteilt, was eine kritische Antwort von Jacob Gronovius (*Infamia Emendationum in*

Der Editor Wettstein entschied sich, mit Hilfe von Joachim Kühnius, Jean Lederlinus und schließlich Tiberius Hemsterhuis zusammen mit Bergler, eine neue Edition des *Onomasticon* auf den Markt zu bringen. Bergler stellte den Index zusammen.

Alle Titel wurden in diesem Text aus platzsparenden Gründen nur in lateinischer Form wiedergegeben.

11. *Homeri Opera, quae exstant, omnia graece & latine; graeca ad principem Henr. Stephani, ut et ad primam omnium Demetrii Calchocondylae editionem, atque insuper ad codd. Mss. sunt excussa: ex latine editis selecta sunt optima, verum ita interpolata ut plurimis longe locis, praesertim totius Odysae nova plane versio videri possit: curante Jo. Henr. Lederlino linguar. orient. in Academia Argent. P.P. et post eum Stephano Berglero, Transilvano. Amstelodami 1707* (2 Bde) (vgl. Buchbesprechung in "Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1712: S. 318-323).

Der 2. Band hat den Titel: *Homeri Odyssea, Batrachomyomachia, Hymni et Epigrammata. ... curante Stephano Berglero Transilvano. Amsteladami 1707*.

Lederlinus überprüfte den Text der Ilias bis zum 2. Gesang. Bergler emendierte den Text weiter, diskutierte die Authentizität der Batrachomyomachie und der Hymne und gab den Text heraus (vgl. auch "Bibliotheca graeca" 1705, Harless Bd. 1, 1966: S. 335-347).

12. *Homeri Ilias & Odyssea. Et in eisdem Scholia sive Interpretatio Veterum. Item notae perpetuae, in Textum & Scholia, variae Lectiones, & c. cum versione latina emendatissima. Accedunt Batrachomyomachia, Hymni & Epigrammata, una cum Fragmentis & Gemini Indices. Totum opus cum pluribus MSS. vetustissimis & optimis editionibus collatum, auctum, emendatum et priscae integritati restitutum. Opera, studio et impensis Josuae Barnes. S.T.B. in Academia Cantabrigia Regii Graecae Linguae Professoris. Cantabrigiae 1711*.

13. Vgl. Buchbesprechung *Manuelis Moschopuli Byzantini Scholia ad Homeri Iliados Librum I & II, adhuc inedita, cum notis & animadversionibus Joannis Scherpezzellii. Accedit commentarius Joachimi Camerarii. Trajecti ad Rhenum 1719* ("Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1719: S. 305-310 und 498-506).

14. *Menandri et Philemonis reliquiae, quotquot referri potuerunt. Graece et latine, cum notis Hugonis Grotii et Joannis Clerici. Amstelodami 1709*.

Menandri Reliquias ... In: "Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1711: S. 38-40) provozierte. Le Clerc wurde 1711 durch einen Pamphlet von Cornelius Paw/Phylargyrius Cantabrigiensis / und einen von A. M. Salvini verteidigt. In vier Buchbesprechungen in "Acta eruditorum"¹⁵ nahm auch Bergler an dieser Diskussion teil (vgl. Marinescu 1943: 205-206).

Weiterhin beschäftigte sich Bergler schon längere Zeit mit einer Edition des Aristophanes, die auf die Ausgabe von J. Kusterus von 1710 (vgl. Buchbesprechung in "Acta eruditorum" im Jahr 1710: S. 97-111) zurückging. Vermutlich übergab Bergler selbst Burkhard Mencke sein Manuskript, das lange Zeit unveröffentlicht in dessen Bibliothek herumlag. Es konnte erst 1760 erscheinen, nachdem der Professor Petrus Burmann die Handschriften der Bibliothek von Burkhard Mencke übernahm und die Veröffentlichung der Edition vorbereitete¹⁶.

Im Jahr 1706 wurde in Cambridge das *Lexikon von Suidas*¹⁷ heraus-

15. 1. *Menandri et Philemonis Reliquiae*, quotquot reperiri potuerunt graece et latine cum notis Hugonis Grotii et Ioannes Clerici Amstelodami apud Thoman Lombrail 1709 ("Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1710: S. 111-114).

2. Emendationes in *Menandri et Philemonis reliquias* ex nupera editione Ioannis Clerici: ubi multa Grotii et aliorum plurima vero Clerici errata castigantur: auctore Phileleuthero Lipsiensi /R. Bentley/, Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex officina Gulielmi van de Vater 1710 ("Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1711: 30-38).

3. Phylargyrii Cantabrigiensis emendationes in *Menandri et Philemonis reliquias* ex nupera editione Ioannis Clerici. Ubi quaedam Grotii et aliorum, plurima vero Phileleutheri Lipsiensis errata castigantur. Cum prefatione Ioannis Clerici. Accedunt Antonii Mariae Salvini Publici Graecarum Florentiae professoris Annotata in *Menandri et Philemonis Reliquias*. Amstelodami apud Henricum Schelte 1711. ("Acta eruditorum" 1711: S. 295-302).

4. Phylargyrii Cantabrigiensis emendationes in *Menandri et Philemonis Reliquias* ("Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1711, S. 365-373).

16. *Aristophanis Comoediae undecim, Graece et Latine, Ad fidem optimorum Codicum MSS. emendatae cum nova octo Comoediarum interpretatione Latina, & notis ad singulas ineditis Stephani Bergleri nec non Caroli Andreae Dukeri ad quatuor priores. Accedunt deperditarum comoediarum fragmenta, Theod. Cantero et Gul. Coddæo collecta, earumque Indices a Joh. Meursio & Joh. Alb. Fabricio digesti curante Petro Burmanno Secundo, qui Praefationem praefixit.* Lugduni Batavorum. 1760 (Lipsiae 1821²).

In seinem langen Vorwort zu dieser Edition sprach Burmann besonders lobend über Berglers Beitrag:

"Quum igitur felici fortuna e latibulis suis excitatus in manus meas pervenisset ineditus hic viri eruditissimi & Graecarum literarum peritissimi Stephani Bergleri, Transsilvani Coronensis, in omnes Aristophanis Comoedias Commentarius..." (S. 2).

17. *Suidae Lexicon.* Graece et latine, ex Mss. codd. recensuit, emendavit, notis illustravit,

gegeben, das von J. Gronovius heftig kritisiert wurde (vgl. Marinescu 1943: 204). Kusterus antwortete in "Acta eruditorum" (Jahr 1713: S. 269-273) und Bergler nahm gleichfalls an der Diskussion teil, indem er die Buchbesprechung *Stephani Bergleri animadversiones quaedam ad Jac. Gronovii emendationes in Suidam conjunctim editas cum Decretis Romanis & Asiaticis* ("Acta eruditorum", Jahr 1713: S. 159-163) veröffentlichte.

Zu den nicht realisierten Projekten Berglers gehörte auch eine Edition Herodots. In zwei Nummern der "Acta eruditorum" veröffentlichte er jedoch seine Anmerkungen zur Ausgabe Herodots von Jacob Gronovius¹⁸ *Animadversio in novam editionem Herodoti a Cl. Gronovio curatam* ("Acta eruditorum", Jahr 1716: S. 377-381) und *Continuatio Animadversionis in novam editionem Herodoti a Cl. Gronovio curatam, autore S. B.* ("Acta eruditorum", Jahr 1716: S. 417-424), die in der Ausgabe von Wessenleng (Amsterdam 1793) enthalten sind.

Wie auch schon in seiner Heimat Siebenbürgen pflegte Bergler auch im Ausland Beziehungen zu den Griechen in der Diaspora. Dabei handelte es sich manchmal um gebildete Personen mit einem Sinn für den Wert von Büchern. Zu ihnen gehörte auch der wohlhabende Händler Andreas Kondikas, in dessen Bibliothek Bergler manche antike Autoren fand. So beabsichtigte er, neue Editionen von Simeon Sethus *Περὶ τροφῶν*, Polemon *Φυσιογνωμικὰ* und Melampus *Περὶ παλμῶν* (nach Marinescu 1943: 173) herauszugeben.

2. *Aufenthalt in Leipzig (1713-1715)*. Am 9.2.1713 stellte Bergler seine Arbeit zur Erlangung des Grades *Magister der Philosophie und freien Künste* in Leipzig vor. Die Ansprache wurde von seinem Professor Johannes Burkhard Mencke gehalten (Mencke 1715: 58-59). Die Beschäftigung mit der Magisterarbeit hinderte Bergler jedoch nicht daran, weiter an seinen geplanten Projekten festzuhalten: Im Jahr 1715 schrieb er sogar das Verwort zur Aristophanes—Edition, das dieses Datum trägt. Im selben Jahr brachte er auch eine kommentierte zweisprachige Ausgabe der Briefe von Alkiphron auf den Markt¹⁹, die auch 72 von ihm in Wiener Bibliotheken entdeckte

versionem latinam Porti correxit, indices auctorum et rerum adjecit, Ludolphus Kusterus, humaniorum literarum in gymnasio regio Berolinensi Professor..., Amstelodami 1706 (vgl. Buchbesprechung in "Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1706: S. 1-5).

18. *Herodoti Halicarnassensis Historiarum Libri IX Musarum Nominibus Inscripti*. Lugduni Batavorum 1715.

19. *Alciphronis Rhetoris Epistolae* quarum major pars nunc primum editur. Recensuit, emendavit, versione ac notis illustravit Stephanus Bergler. Lipsiae 1715 (Buchbesprechung u.a. in "Acta eruditorum", Jahr 1715: S. 218-222). Die zweite Edition wurde von Johannes

Briefe umfaßte. Daraus kann man schließen, daß sich Bergler bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Leipzig aufgehalten haben könnte.

Hamburg (1715-1718). Bergler begab sich nach Hamburg, wo er vom Herausgeber Johannes A. Fabricius die Aufgabe bekam, ihm bei der Veröffentlichung der "Bibliotheca graeca" behilflich zu sein²⁰. Im Jahr 1718 erschien Fabricius griechisch-lateinische Edition des Sextus Empiricus²¹, für die Bergler dem zu jener Zeit abwesenden Editor mehrere Emendationen vorschlug. Fabricius selbst bedankte sich im Vorwort dafür, daß Bergler in seiner Abwesenheit die Herausgabe und den Druck betreut hatte:

"Denique singulariter praedicanda mihi cura sollers & accurata eruditissimi viri Stephani Bergleri, qui quarum absente me opus hocce fuit excudendum, cum laudato supra mihi buttigio nulli labori perpercit ut e typographi praelis quantum posser fieri correctum ac sine mendis in manus hominum exiret"²².

3. *Aufenthalt in Leipzig (1718-1722).* Im Jahre 1718 ging Bergler erneut zu Thomas Fritsch nach Leipzig, wo er mit Ausnahme eines kurzen Aufenthalts in Italien²³ bis zu seiner Abreise nach Bukarest tätig war. Zwischen

August Wagner im Jahr 1798 ebenfalls in Leipzig, im Verlag Müller, herausgegeben. Am Anfang des zweiten Bandes steht eine kurze Biographie von Bergler.

20. Eine Serie der "Bibliotheca graeca" erschien zunächst 1705-1728 in Hamburg in 14 Bänden, fortgesetzt und neu aufgelegt, aber nicht ganz zu Ende in 12 Bänden in Hamburg 1790-1812.

21. *Sexti Empirici opera. Graece et latine. Pyrrhoniæ Institutionum Libri III cum Henr. Stephani versione & notis. Contra Mathematicos sive disciplinarum professores libri VI. Contra Philosophos libri V, cum versione Gentiani Herveti Graeca ex Mss. codicibus castigavit, versiones emendavit supplevitque et toti opere notas adjecit, Io. Albertus Fabricius, Lipsiensis, S.S. Theol. D. et prof. p. in Gymn. Hamb. Lipsiae, sumptu B. Io. Frid. Gleditschii, 1718.*

22. In seiner Buchbesprechung zu dieser Edition erwähnte auch R. Bentley Berglers Beitrag:

"Ceterum ignorare Lectorem nolumus, Cl. Viro & in Graecis versatissimo M. Stephano Berglero non parum debere luculentam hanc Sexti editionem. quippe is diligenter operam dedit, ut errores ac sphalmata, quae per absentiam Celeb. Editoris haud dubie irreptura erant, tollerentur, cunctaque quam emendatissima prodirent".

(Phileleutherus Lipsiensis in: "Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1718: S. 337-339).

23. Bergler ging nach Rom auf Einladung eines Kardinals, der ihm anbot, für den Papst Clemens den XI. einige griechische Texte zu lesen und ins Lateinische zu übersetzen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit sollte sich Bergler 1718 in Leipzig seinem Landsmann Johann Seulen anvertraut haben: "Wie hat doch der Papst des bleeschen Hannes seinen Sohn aus Kronstadt kennengelernt?" (vgl. Trausch 1983: 115).

1718-1722 arbeitete er an einer Edition von Genesios. Das Werk blieb jedoch in handschriftlicher Form bis 1733, als der venezianische Editor Giovanni Battista Pasquale es veröffentlichte²⁴.

Zu dieser Zeit war Bergler auch mit einer Edition von Herodianus beschäftigt, die dasselbe Schicksal wie sein Aristophanes erlitt, d.h., sie blieb ebenfalls bei Mencke unveröffentlicht liegen. Erst gegen Ende des 18. Jhs. wurde sie in die fünfbändige Edition von Th. Irmisch aufgenommen (Lipsiae 1789-1805)²⁵.

Eine Buchbesprechung Berglers zu den *Scholien zu Homer* von Manuel Moschopoulos (s. oben) erschien in "Acta eruditorum" im Jahr 1719: S. 305-310 und 498-506.

Zusammen mit anderen Philologen arbeitete Bergler auch an der Edition von Musaios, die 1721 in Halle erschien²⁶. Im Vorwort von Kromayerus zu dieser Edition steht eine siebenseitige Präsentation von Stefan Bergler einschließlich einiger Angaben zu seiner Person aus der zeitgenössischen Literatur.

Weiterhin bereitete er noch Kommentare zur Edition von Moeris vor. Nach dem Tode von Mencke wurde sein Manuscript von P. Burmann an J. Pearson übergeben, so daß sie in dessen Edition (Lyon 1759)²⁷ Aufnahme fanden.

24. *Joseph Genesii de rebus Constantinopolitanis a Leone Armenio ad Basilicum Macedonem: Libri quatuor*. Nunc primum editi Venetia: Pasquali 1733 ("Corpus Byzantinae historiae" Nr. 18). Über die der Erstausgabe vorausgehenden zahlreichen (erfolglosen) Anläufe zu einer Edition berichtet Fabricius selbst in "Bibliotheca graeca", ed. nova, Bd. 7, Hamburg 1801 (Repr. Hildesheim 1966: S. 530 ff.). J. B. Mencke hatte vor seinem Tode die in seinen Besitz übergegangene Abschrift des "Leipziger Codex", der die vollständige Schrift von Genesios beinhaltet, zusammen mit den Anmerkungen und der lateinischen Übersetzung dem Herausgeber zur Verfügung gestellt. Berglers Übersetzung wurde von Lesmueller-Werner und I. Thurn aufgrund ihrer nicht seltenen Mißverständnisse kritisch betrachtet. Jedenfalls ist die venezianische Edition noch schlechter als die des Bergler (vgl. Lesmueller-Werner und Thurn 1978: XXVI).

25. *Herodiani Historiarum Libri VIII. Graece et latine, e recensione Stephani, cum variet. lectionum trium Codicum manuscriptorum, nova Bergleri versione, cum notis et indice verborum ac rerum ex editione Th. Guillelmi Irmisch*. Lipsiae 1789 bis 1805.

26. *Musaei Grammatici de Hero et Leandro Poema recensuit, notis C. Barthii, Io. Weitzii, P. Voetii, C. A. Heumanni, C. Schoettgenii, J. M. Gessneri, St. Bergleri, I. A. Groebelii, et suis, indicibusque, instruxit, ac de Musaeo dissertationem praemisit Io. Henri. Kromayerus, accedunt argumenti eiusdem binae Publ. Ovid. Nasonis epistolae. Halae Marburgicae. sumtu novi bibliopolii 1721*.

27. *Moeridis Atticistae lexicon atticum cum Jo. Hudsoni, Steph. Bergleri, Claud. Salierii, aliorumque notis, secundum ordinem Mss. restituit, emendavit, animadversionibus illustravit*

Im Jahre 1722 wurde die 1719 erschienene Studie des Fürsten Nikolaos Mavrokordatos *Περὶ τῶν καθηκόντων βίβλος: συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Εὐσεβεστάτου Ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ Σοφωτάτου Αὐθέντα καὶ Ἡγεμόνος πάσης Οὐγγροβλαχίας κυρίου, κυρίου Ἰωάννου Νικολάου Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου βοεβόδα. Νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡγεμονίας τῆς αὐτοῦ Ὑψηλότητος. / Libro de officiis conscriptus a Piissimo, Celsissimo atque Sapientissimo Principe ac Duce totius Wlachiae Domino, Domino Joanne Nicolao Alexandri Mavrocordati F. Voivoda, nunc primum typis editus sub Ducatu ipsius Celsitudinis* von Fabricius herausgegeben²⁸.

Auf dem ersten Blatt stand ein Vorwort des Editors Thomas Fritsch, ein Epigramm des Fabricius und folgende Anrede des Bergler an den Fürsten:

“Visitur hac tabula tuus, alma Valachia, Princeps, Gloria Graecorum Musis quam fidus amicum! Oris honos talis. Mentis miracula quantal Eloquium varium, Pietas, Sapientia Summa Nectori”²⁹.

Das erste Exemplar schickte Bergler dem Fürsten, der ihn großzügig belohnte und an seinen Hof einlub.

Im selben Jahr widmete Fabricius den Bd. 11 der “Bibliotheca graeca” dem Fürsten und in seinem Vorwort an ihn erwähnte er mit Bewunderung auch dessen Bibliothek³⁰.

Joannes Piersonus. Accedit Αἰλίον Ἡρωδianoῦ Φιλέταιρος. Lugduni Batavorum 1759.

28. Diese Studie wurde 1719 veröffentlicht, als Nikolaos Mavrokordatos seine zweite Herrschaftsperiode in der Walachei begann. Das Werk wurde während seiner Gefangenschaft in Hermannstadt nach dem Muster von Ciceros Schrift *De officiis* geschrieben (vgl. Marinescu 1943: 191). Sie erweckte auch in Westeuropa großes Interesse (u.a. von Seite des Editors Wettstein), so daß der Fürst den Editor Thomas Fritsch mit ihrer Übersetzung beauftragte (Weitere Ausgaben: Amsterdam 1724, London 1724, Nürnberg 1739).

29. Eine Buchbesprechung erschien in “Acta eruditorum”, Jahr 1720: S. 385-389.

30. “Celsissimo ac sapientissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Joanni Nicolao Alexandri F. Maurocordato de Scarlati, Totius Hungarowalachiae Principi exoptatissimo, salutem ac felicitatem Jo. Albertus Fabricius.

Magnum ausum hunc induit mihi singularis Virtus Tua, Princeps Sapientissime, ut longe dissitus licet, multumque infra culminis Tui fulgorem positus, non ignotus tamen, Celsissimi Nominis Tui late splendens jubar libro huic pace Tua praemitendum mihi sumam. Atque ut in Bibliotheca Graeca Virum Principem, Graecum natione, & Graeci Nominis praesidium ac summum decus, non Graecè sed Latine alloquar, haud minus suadet Eruditio Tua, cui perinde familiaris est Latina haec, quam Graeca vel Arabica aut Persica, Gallicave aut Italica lingua, atque injungit mihi pudor meus, qui merito verebar, ne idem mihi, quod A. Albino olim acideret reprehensio a M. Catone, si Graece scribere instituens ad Graecum non Graecus, culpam deprecari sermonis quam culpa vacare maluissem. Tu porro dignissimus,

Bukarest (1722-1738). Bergler wurde Erzieher der beiden Söhne von Mavrokordatos, Constantin und Scarlat und gleichzeitig Berater des Fürsten. In dieser Eigenschaft übersetzte er ihm ausländische Zeitungen ins Griechische, übertrug seine Schriften ins Lateinische (obwohl der Fürst selber Latein konnte), erledigte kleine Geschäfte und war ihm dabei behilflich, Kontakte nach Westeuropa zu knüpfen und aufrechtzuerhalten. Bergler blieb in Verbindung mit den Editoren, mit denen er viele Jahre in Leipzig, Amsterdam und Hamburg zusammengearbeitet hatte.

Mavrokordatos war im Besitz einer bemerkenswerten Bibliothek³¹, um die sich sein Schwiegersohn Ioan (Ianake) Scarlat³² kümmerte. Bergler bestellte Bücher für die fürstliche Bibliothek und im Jahre 1731 stellte er einen Katalog aller griechischen Handschriften und Drucke zusammen, der auch heute als "eine wirklich wissenschaftliche Bibliographie von europäischem Rang" betrachtet werden kann (Dima-Drăgan 1974: 34 und 65).

Unter den für den Fürsten Mavrokordatos erworbenen Büchern fand Bergler auch eine bislang unbekannte vollständige Kopie der *Demonstratio evangelica* (Εὐαγγελικὴ ἀπόδειξις) von Eusebius von Cesarea, die er dem

in cuius laudibus celebrandis non Graeca solum sed plurimum linguarum ingenia decerent: quae laudes cum non brevi Epistola circumscribi possint vel debeant, sed annalibus & historiarum monumentis explicari mereantur, saltem integrum fit mihi gratulari Graeco Nomini, quod in Te, Celsissime Princeps, habet, qui veteris illius florentis quondam Graeciae virtutem, doctrinam gloriamque ingenii & eloquentiae non modo afferat ac vindicet ipse, sed etiam ad hanc laudem excitare & accendere non cesset cives suos exemplo suo, auctoritate, consilio ac munificentia: qui moderatione & clementia in subjectos & prudenti administratione imperii, perfecti Principis impleat partes: qui denique sanctissimum morum exemplar non minus diserte & solide commendaverit descripseritque in aureolo suo de officiis libro, quam vita sua illud referat atque exprimat constanter. Cum vero hac aetate major Graeco nomini nulla gloria, & Bibliothecae huic Graecae majus & illustrius ornamentum nullum possit accedere quam ab ostro Nominis Tuis Graeciae auspiciatissimi, patere quaeso illud in limine hujus Voluminis exstare tanquam in votiva tabella, cui pro salute TUA & simillimi Caroli Tui incolumitate ac felicitate, nullis intervertenda fortunae, nullis invidiae injuriis, subscribunt mecum etiam longe a Te disjuncti omnes quotquot Graeciae, quotquot bonis moribus ac gloriae litterarum bene cupiunt. Scripsi Hamburgi X. Cal. Maj. Anni Christiani 1722".

31. Die Bibliothek befand sich im Kloster Văcărești bei Bukarest. Sie schloß ebenfalls einen Teil der Bücher des walachischen Fürsten Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714) ein, die vom Kloster Horezu hingbracht wurden. Um ein Beispiel zu nennen, darf man hier erwähnen, daß der Fürst in Besitz einer Edition von N. Machivallis *Oeuvres* (La Haye 1726) war, die nach Meinung der Wissenschaftler auf seine literarische Aktivität gewirkt haben dürfte (Căndea 1962: 22).

32. Der gebildete Schwiegersohn des Fürsten (1702-1726) besaß selbst eine große Bibliothek, die in zeitgenössischen Schriften erwähnt wurde.

Fabricius meldete und ihm über Scarlat zur Verfügung stellte. Fabricius schloß im Anhang des von ihm herausgegebenen Werks *Delectus argumentorum et Syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem religionis christianae adversus Atheos, Epicureos, Deistas seu Naturalistas, Idololatrias, Judaeos et Muhammedanos lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt* (Hamburg 1725) das Proömium und die ersten drei Kapiteln der Schrift von Eusebius (die in den meisten Handschriften fehlten) mit den Bemerkung: "deprompta ex Bibliotheca celsissimi et sapientissimi Walachiae principis Joannis Nicolai, Alexandri F. Maurocordati". In seinem Vorwort bedankte sich Fabricius bei Scarlat, erwähnte Berglers Beitrag und wies erneut auf die "splendida Bibliotheca" des Fürsten Mavrokordatos hin.

Bergler blieb offensichtlich bis zu seinem Tode in Bukarest, wohin er kurzfristig auch seine beiden Brüder kommen ließ³³. Vermutlich durch die Franziskaner, die sich in Bukarest befanden, bekehrte er sich zum Katholizismus, mit der Begründung "Ich habe es in alten Schriften gefunden, daß diese Religion die wahre sei" (Seivert 1782, Bd. 2: 508, nach Marinescu 1943: 179). Als er starb, bekam er auf Kosten des Fürsten Konstantinos Mavrokordatos eine glänzende Bestattung.

Die Briefe

Im Jahre 1987 fand Jacques Bouchard, Professor an der Faculté des arts et des sciences (Département d'études anciennes et modernes) von Montreal, Kanada, in der Universitätsbibliothek von Kopenhagen, in der sich das Archiv Fabrizio befindet, drei Briefe, die Stephan Bergler an Fabricius geschickt hatte, sowie einen Brief des Sekretärs des Fürsten Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, ebenfalls an Fabricius. Die Briefe, die im folgenden wiedergegeben werden, wurden von Herrn Alexander Cizek, Privatdozent am Institut für Lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters der Universität Münster gelesen und übersetzt. Der besondere Wert der Briefe ergibt sich daraus, daß sie Informationen über die damalige Atmosphäre in der Welt der Herausgeber klassischer Texte sowie über die Persönlichkeit des ohne Zweifel anspruchsvollen siebenbürgischen Philologen enthalten, wobei sie die Aussagen zeitgenössischer Zeugen bestätigen.

Brief Nr. 1

Der Brief wurde von Stephan Bergler an Fabricius am 5.12.1705 (?) (vgl.

33. Es ist auch möglich, daß er für kurze Zeit nach Konstantinopel ging, doch sind die Informationen dazu widersprüchlich.

1. Aufenthalt in Leipzig) in Amsterdam geschrieben. Bergler erwähnt die Edition, an der er gerade arbeitete, Julius Pollux *Onomasticon*. Amsterdam 1706, es käme also nur das Jahr 1705 in Frage. Bergler erwähnt weiterhin zwei zu den Scholiasten von Aristophanes und Sophocles zusammengestellte Verfasserverzeichnisse, die Fabricius herausgeben wollte (vgl. supra S. 224).

Brief Nr. 2

Der Brief wurde kurz nach der Vollendung des Drucks von Sextus Empiricus von Bergler an Fabricius geschrieben (um 1718 (?), vgl. 3. Aufenthalt in Leipzig). Fabricius war nicht in Hamburg, so daß Bergler ihm über die von ihm unternommene Revision der Edition berichtet. Er begründet seine eigenen Änderungen und erklärt einige Fehler, die noch im Text geblieben waren, durch die Tatsache, daß Fabricius beim Druck nicht selbst anwesend gewesen sei. Seine Bemerkungen sind jedoch vorsichtig formuliert. Am Ende lobt Bergler als eine Art *captatio benevolentiae* die Kenntnisse und die Bemühungen von Fabricius, gute Editionen der Klassiker herauszugeben und bedankt sich für die Art und Weise, auf die Fabricius ihm wiederholt behilflich war.

Brief Nr. 3

Der Brief wurde am 20.8.1718 in Leipzig von Bergler an Fabricius geschrieben (vgl. 3. Aufenthalt in Leipzig). In ihm wurde auch der frühere Brief (Nr. 2) erwähnt. Einige Fragmente wurden im Jahr 1737 von Hermann Samuel Reimarus, Biograph des Fabricius (S. 222-223), veröffentlicht (s. Literatur), der Brief war jedoch nicht vollständig bekannt. Bergler erwähnt erneut die Editionen, an denen er gearbeitet hatte oder gerade arbeitete:

- a. das *Onomasticon* von Julius Pollux (1707).
- b. den Codex, den er zu diesem Zeitpunkt in der "Pauliner Bibliothek" untersuchte, in dem er Scholien zu Homer sowie das Werk von Joseph Genesios fand, das er ins Lateinische übersetzte und kommentierte. Er spricht über die schon früher von Johannes Bosius untersuchte Handschrift, die er jetzt veröffentlichen wollte³⁴.

34. Es handelt sich um die einzige Handschrift, die das vollständige Werk von Genesios beinhaltet: "Cod. univers. Lips. gr. 16" (frühere Signaturen 361 und 250) aus dem 11. Jh., beschrieben von V. Gardthausen 1898: 19. Der Codex befand sich in der Bibliothek des Pauliner Kolleg zu Leipzig, die 1542 mit dem Grundstock der Leipziger Universitätsbiblio-

- c. Die Übersetzung des Herodian.
- d. Die geplante Übersetzung des Herodot, die aber nicht erschien.
- e. Die Edition von Aristophanes, die er vorbereitet hatte.
- f. Alkiphrons *Briefe*, die 1715 erschienen waren.

Am Ende des Briefes schickt Bergler Grüße an den Philologen Christoph Wolfius.

Brief Nr. 4

Der Brief wurde am 22.8.1722 von Nicolaus Wolff, Sekretär des Fürsten Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, an Fabricius geschrieben (vgl. 3. Aufenthalt in Leipzig). Er kündigt dem deutschen Editor an, daß der Fürst ihm 40 Gulden als Belohnung für den 11. Band der "Bibliotheca graeca", der ihm gewidmet wurde, schickte.

thek vereinigt wurde (vgl. Lesmueller-Werner et Thurn 1978: XXII-XXIII). Die Genesios-Handschrift wurde 1652 vom Jenaer Professor Joh. Bose überprüft und abgeschrieben. Sie ist sehr fehlerhaft, was auch Berglers Kritik, der seine Abschrift mit Boses kollationiert hat, berechtigt. Berglers Abschrift selbst ist allerdings oft lücken- und fehlerhaft und die Kommentare viel zu umfangreich im Verhältnis zum tatsächlichen Wert ihres Inhalts (vgl. Lesmueller-Werner et Thurn 1978: XXVIII).

ANHANG

Brief Nr. 1

Der sehr geehrte und hochangesehene Herr Johannes Albertus Fabricius, Doktor in der heiligen Wissenschaft der Theologie und Senator sei begrüßt.

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Ich weiß wohl, daß mein Brief Dir nichts so Wertvolles bieten kann, das Dich von anderen wichtigeren Beschäftigungen ablenken könnte. Weil Du aber mich zu schreiben angespornt hast, was ich für eine sehr ehrenvolle Sache halte, höre ich gerne auf Dich. Zugleich denke ich mir, es könnte sein, daß Du, falls Du über meine Lage Bescheid weißt, mir manche Aufträge anvertrauen würdest, die ich leicht erledigen könnte. Ich kann mir nichts Besseres als das wünschen, weil mir auf diese Weise die Gelegenheit gegeben würde, zu zeigen, daß ich eine mir erwiesene Wohltat nicht zu vergessen pflege.

Wenn Du also über mein Befinden Bescheid wissen möchtest, kann ich Dir mitteilen, daß ich mich zuletzt in Amsterdam niedergelassen habe, wo ich dem Verleger /Heinz/ Wettstein besoldet bin, um den Index, wie man ihn nennt, des Lexikons von Julius Pollux, das dieser Verleger zusammen mit den Anmerkungen verschiedener Gelehrter herausgegeben hat, anzufertigen. Dieser wurde durch die beflissene Empfehlung des Herrn Johannes Clericus dazu bewogen, mir diesen Auftrag anzuvertrauen. An den letzteren hatte ich mich in dieser Angelegenheit zuerst gewandt, indem ich Deinen Rat befolgt hatte. Ich könnte Dir nun manches über die Gestalt dieses Werkes erwähnen, falls ich wüßte, inwiefern dies der Mühe wert sein möchte. Würde ich erfahren, daß Dir meine Arbeit nicht mißfällt, so könnte ich mich bemühen, Dir bekannt zu machen, daß ich dabei keinen der Grundsätze übergangen habe, für die ich bei Dir nicht Zustimmung dürfte gefunden haben. Eins kann ich Dir

jedoch nicht verschweigen, daß ein dreifacher Index von mir zusammengestellt wird: der Vokabel, der Titel und der Namen.

Dabei hat mir zur Vervollkommung des zuletzt erwähnten Verzeichnisses Dein Wissen gewaltig gefehlt. Freilich habe ich bei dieser Arbeit das Verzeichnis der von den Scholiasten des Sophokles und Aristophanes aufgeführten Verfasser oft vermisst, die bei Dir in Handschrift vorliegen; denn ich stelle fest, daß die Namen und Titel mancher von diesen Scholiasten benutzten Verfasser und Werke bei Pollux falsch oder unzuverlässig, auf alle Fälle zweifelhaft erscheinen. Auch bei den oben erwähnten Anmerkungen kann man wohl über manches vielfach streiten, so daß ich mich bisweilen nicht recht entscheiden kann, was ich befolgen soll. Wir wünschen, daß dieser neue Index nicht nur umfangreicher, sondern auch korrekter als der frühere sein wird, und daß wir uns durch diese unsere Arbeit einer solchen Beliebtheit erfreuen, daß in der Zukunft eine ähnliche Sorgfalt unseren Schriften zuteil wird.

Allerdings bin ich mir genug dessen bewußt, wie unverschämt ich Dir in Worten meine Dienste angeboten habe, um in der Tat Dir noch mehr Arbeit zu bereiten. Ich vermisse dermaßen jene Verzeichnisse, daß ich durch diese so vermessene Forderung auf mich nehme, zu zeigen, daß die menschliche Seele in ihrem Freimut so gierig Wohltaten entgegenzunehmen und so geneigt Dank abzustatten ist, daß sie sich wünscht, demjenigen möglichst viel zu schulden, dem sie bereits viel zu danken hat.

Bitte Dich also inständig, mir jene Verzeichnisse, falls eine andere Möglichkeit ausbleibt, durch den öffentlichen Briefträger zuzuschicken. Es dürfte entweder dasjenige Exemplar sein, das ich selber geschrieben habe, falls Du es entbehren kannst, bis ich eine Kopie davon anfertige, die ich Dir zurückschicken könnte, wenn Du es verlangst; oder, wenn es Dir nicht lästig ist, schick mir ein anderes Exemplar, das Dein Sekretär anfertigen würde, damit ich dieses statt meines Exemplars hier bei mir aufbewahren kann. Den Briefträger werde ich hier sicherlich für seine Mühe belohnen. Die Sache duldet keine große Verzögerung, denn beim Exzerpieren bin ich bereits bis zum achten Buch gelangt und strenge mich an, so schnell wie möglich das Ende des Werkes zu erreichen. Falls Du beabsichtigst, mir darauf zu antworten, kann mir der Brief auf diese Weise zugestellt werden: Bey Heinrich Straatman Lutherischen Kranken-Tröstn, auff der Negolantius-Graft.

Stefanus Bergler

Amsterdam am 5. Dezember /1705?/

Plurimum Reverendo et Clarissimo Viro Joanni Alberto Fabricio SS. Theol. Doctori: et PP. S/alutem/ D/at/. Hamburgum.

Vir Clarissime.

Equidem scio literas meas tanti non esse, ut illa Tibi legenda offerant, qui aliis et gravioribus negotiis distineris, sed quia ipse me ad scribendum adhortatus es, quod ego mihi imprimis honorificum duco, non invito tibi morem gessi: Simul etiam putabam, posse fortassis, si de statu rerum mearum aliquid Tibi constaret, non incommode quaedam negotia curanda mihi abs Te committi qua quidem se nihil optatius mihi jam contingere posset; nam hoc pacto qualiscunque occasio mihi daret ostendendi, me accepti beneficii non solere oblivisci. Si quid ergo me voles Ego Amstelodami tandem consedi, mercede conducto a Vet/st/aenio Bibliopola *ad conficiendum Indicem, ut loquunt, in Julii Pollucis Lexicon*, quem scriptorem ille vir typis excudi et edicurat cum variorum observationibus. Is, ut non dubitaret mihi tale negotium mandare, commendatione sedula effectum est viri ci/arissimi/ Joannis Clerici, quem, ut ipsi Tibi consultum videbat, de ea re primum conveneram. Possem nunc quaedam commemorare de forma operis illius, si scirem quatenus operae pretium fiet: quod si intellexero meum studium Tibi non displicere, efficiam ut cognoscas me nihil eorum omississe, quibus voluntari tuae satisfieri a me quidem posset. Hoc saltem tacere non possum, triplicem a me concinnari indicem: vocabulorum, titulorum et autorum; nam ad illius quem ultimo loco commemoravi perfectionem nonnihil indigeo negotio Tuo: nimirum indices autorum a Scholiastis Sophoclis et Aristophanis citatorum, quos habes M/anu/s/cripto/s, ego in hoc labore saepe desideravi, nam animadverto quorundam autorum et operum ab ipsis profectorum nomina et inscriptiones in Polluce falsa aut incerta, saltem dubia videri posse, et iam in illis quas dixi observationibus varie de quibusdam revera disputari, adeo ut quid sequi debeam quandoque non satis deliberare possim; cupimus autem novum hunc indicem non tantum locupletiores esse priore illo, sed et emendatiores: nostroque hoc labore eam gratiam inire ut similes cura in posterum etiam nobis credantur. Equidem satis video quam impudenter ego verbo quidem officia mea Tibi obtulerim, re autem plus negotii facessam; sed quia tantopere illis indicibus indigeo: sustinui audaci quadam flagitatione

ostendere, animum hominis ingenui tam esse rapacem beneficiorum accipiendorum, tamque cupidum gratiarum referendarum, ut, cui multum debeat, eidem plurimum debere velit. Rogo ergo majorem in modum, ut per Tabellarium publicum, deficiente alia occasione, indices illos mihi mittas: sive illud ipsum exemplar quod ego scripsi, sinempe illo, interea dum a me iterum describitur carere, tibiue id postea remitti voles; sive aliud, quod sine incommodo tuo amanuensis describat, egoque pro meo hic retinere possim Tabellario suum ego faxo hic constabit. Res dilationem longam non patitur; nam excerptendo jam parveni ad librum octavum, contendoque qua possum festinatione ad finem operis. Si visum fuerit aliquid ad haec respondere, potest Epistola ad me feranda dirigi hoc quodam modo: Bey Heinrich Straatman Lutherischen Kranken-Tröstn, auff der Negolantius-Graft.

Stephanus Bergler

Amstelodami 5 Decembrius /1705/

Plurimum Reverendo et
Clarissimo Viro
Joanni Alberto Fabricio
S. Theol. Doctori: et PP.
S. D.

Amstel.

Hamburgum.



Vir Clarissime.

15.

Equidem scio literas meas tanti non esse, et illa Tibi legenda offerant, quae aliis et gravioribus negotiis distineris, sed quia ipse me ad scribendum adhortatus es, quod ego mihi imprimis beneficium duco, non minus tibi moram posui: Sicut etiam patabam, posse fortassis, si de statu rerum mearum aliquid Tibi constaret, non incommode quaedam negotia curanda mihi ab Te committi, quae quidem ne nihil operis mihi iam contingere posset; nam hoc pacto qualiscunque occasio mihi daret, ostendendi, me accepti beneficii non solere oblivisci. Cuius ergo me vides Ego Amstelodami tandem confodi, mercede conductus à ~~Vestro~~ ^{Benigno} Bibliopola ad conficiendum Indicem, uti loquuntur, in ^{Joannis} Pollucis Lexicon, quem ^{Scriptorem} illa Vir typis excudi et ediderat cum Vanorum Observationibus. Is, ut non dubitance mihi tale negotium mittere, commendatione secula effectum est Viri Cl. Joannis Clerici, quem, ut ipsi Tibi consultum videbatur, de ea re primus conveneram. Personam namque quidem commemorare de forma Operis illius, si fierem quibus opera pretium fuit: quod si intellegero meam studium Tibi non displicere, officium ut cognoscas me nihil eorum omisisse, quibus voluntati tuae satisfieri à me quidem posset. Hoc saltem tacere non possum, triplicem à me concinnari Indicem: Vocabulorum, Titulorum et Autorum; non de illius quem ultimo loco commemoravi perfectionem nonnihil ^{Indicis} ^{auxilio} ^{Tuo}

riminam iudicium Auctorem à Rhodastis Sophoclis et Anisopbanis ceterorum ,
 quos habes MSSos, ego in hoc labore saepe desideravi, non amandavero
 quorundam Auctorem et Operum ab ipsis professorum nomina et inscriptiones in
 Poline falsa aut incerta, saltem dubia videri posse, et jam in illis quas ubiq;
 Observationibus varie de quibusdam revere disputari, adeo ut quis sequi de-
 beam quandoq; non satis deliberare possim, cupimus autem novum hunc iudi-
 cium non tantum locupletiorum esse priore illo, sed et emendationem: nostoque

hoc labore eam gratiam inire, et fructus circa in posterum etiam nobis credanti-
 bus. Eandem satis vides quam impudenter ego verbo quidem officia mea tibi obtu-
 lerm, re interea plus negotii gacebam; sed quia temporare illis in diu indigeo:
 sustinui ceteri quidam flagitatione ostendere, amicum bonum inceni tam es-
 se capax beneficiorum accipendorum, tamq; cupidum gratiarum referendarum
 ut, cui multum debet, eidem plenius debere velit. Rago ergo maiorem in mo-
 dum, ut per Tabellariam publicam, deficiente alia occasione, Indices illos mihi mit-
 tas; siue illud ipsum exemplar quod ego scripsi, si nempe illo, interea dum à me
 iterum descriptis, careo, tibi id postea remitti voles; siue aliud, quod sine incom-
 modo tuo amanuensis describat, ego ipso meo hic retinere posim; 20.4.1738
 Tabellariis fœm ego fasso hic constabit. Res dilationem longam non patitur; non
 excerpando jam perveni ad Librum Octavum, contendens quæ pos. 1. gestia-
 tione ad finem operis. Si visum fuerit aliquid eo haec respondere, potest Epistola
 ad me ferenda videri hoc quodam modo. Dny Winnif Straatman
 Lijfflijken Secretaris, rijk. der Stantien van Holland

Stephanus Bergler

Amstelredam. 5. Decembri.

Brief Nr. 2

Stephan Bergler grüßt den sehr geehrten und hochangesehenen Herrn Johannes Albertus Fabricius

Nach der Vollendung des Drucks von Sextus /Empiricus/, dessen Revision ich mir vorgenommen hatte, scheint mir notwendig, Rechnung über die von mir geleistete Arbeit zu geben. Nach einer Vorkorrektur habe ich die Druckfahnen einmal durgelesen; nachdem ich sie korrigiert und sofort zurückgeschickt hatte, sorgte ich dafür, daß sie mir erneut gebracht wurden und ich habe sie in einer letzten Revision gesehen, nämlich in Betracht auf das, was ich schon vermerkt hatte. Es war viel Arbeit, damit alles so viel wie möglich korrigiert wird und damit die Druckbuchstaben in ihrer Form durch Biegung der Linien und andere Ungleichmäßigkeiten nicht entstellt werden. Dies konnte jedoch nicht überall erreicht werden, so daß, weil an manchen Blättern die Linie allzu eng zusammengezogen wurde, der Anfang einiger Bücher am Ende des Blattes nicht so schön gedruckt wurde. Was ich aber am meisten zu rügen hatte, ist die Tatsache, daß die Büchertitel von irgend einem Schlaukopf verstellt wurden, z.B. βιβλίον τρίτον Σέξτου Ἐμπειρίκου statt Σέξτου Ἐμπειρίκου βιβλίον τρίτον. Brachte ich meine Bemühung, über die Druckfahnen hinaus, so dachte ich mir, daß es so sein mußte. Ich konnte leicht merken, daß Du manches, was Du ändern wolltest, so gelassen hast, wie es war. Dies wäre Dir nicht entgangen, wenn Du den Text erneut gelesen hättest. Vor allem wenn Du selbst beim Druck anwesend gewesen wärest, bei dem alles, auch das geringste, sorgfältig überdacht werden kann. Zum Beispiel auf der Seite 122 der von Dir korrigierten Übersetzung stand mit Recht *evidentiam*, wobei jedoch ἐνέργειαν statt ἐνάργειαν blieb, was an anderen Stellen nachher von Dir richtig gesetzt worden ist. Dies wollte ich eben nicht so lassen. An anderen Stellen hingegen durfte die Korrektur der alten Übersetzung anhand Deiner Korrektur des

griechischen Textes verbessert werden. Anhand der Anmerkungen mußte manchmal der Text oder die Übersetzung oder beides berichtigt werden. Zuweilen durfte aus einer Korrektur eine andere entstehen. Jedesmal anders. Kurzum habe ich mir die Mühe gegeben, damit, was zu befürchten war, dieses Werk in Deiner Abwesenheit nicht weniger durchgearbeitet erscheint als Deine anderen berühmten und mit Recht sehr viel beliebten Schriften. Es gibt einige Stellen, bei denen es mir berechtigt erschien, Dir Vorschläge zu machen. Dies alles habe ich in den Heften vermerkt. Ich dachte zuerst daran, meine Verbesserungen mit Dir zu besprechen, um sie nach Deiner Überprüfung am Ende des Werkes als Addenda hinzuzufügen, Wegen Zeitmangel ist dies aber ausgeschlossen. Ich würde mich sehr freuen, wenn ich die Gewißheit hätte, daß diese ganze Verbesserungsarbeit Dir nicht ärgerlich erscheint und mir vorstellen würde, ein Teil der Dir zukommenden Aufgabe auf mich genommen zu haben. Durch Deine vorzüglichen Verdienste in der Literatur hast Du mich sowohl im allgemeinen—wie auch sonst die anderen Philologen—als auch im besonderen verpflichtet, indem Du mir einst mit Rat und Tat geholfen und neuerdings mir durch eine neue Wohltat eine Freude gemacht hast. Leb wohl.

/1718/

Viro Plurimum Reverendo atque Clarissimo Joanni Alberto
Fabricio S.P.D. Stephanus Bergler

Absoluta jam Sexti impressione cujus inspectionem in me suscepam, necessarium videtur praestitae a me operae rationem reddere. Ita autem fuit: Post alium, semel perlegi specimina typographica: quae et correxi, tradita praesto, referri ad me curavi, et ultima revisione inspexi, ea dumtaxat quae notaveram. Erat multum negotii, ut omnia et in se emendata quoad fieri posset: et specie externa, non deformia fierent, convitate linearum, et aliis inaequalitatibus, quod tamen alicubi obtineri non potuit, ut cum in una alteraque pagina linea arctius stipata: initium libri alicujus minus decore in fine paginae factum. Illud a me serius animadversum, quod nescio quo satagente tituli librorum mutati, v.g. βιβλίον τρίτον Σέξ-

του Ἐμπειρικοῦ pro Σέξτου Ἐμπειρικοῦ βιβλίον τρίτον. Si ego extendi curam meam ultra typographica, id fieri debere intelligebam. Facile animadvertere potui Te quaedam quae mutare velles reliquisse: quae relegendem haud fugissent, praesertim si ipse in imprimendo adfuisses, cum omnia etiam minima pensitantur. v.g. p. 122 in tua Emendatione versionis recte *evidentiam*, relicto interim ἐνέργειαν pro ἐνάργειαν quod in aliis locis postea bene a te repositam, nollem ibi etiam, a me relictum, contra aliquando ex Tua emendatione textus Graeci colligere licuit emendationem pristinae versionis: quandoque ex Notis, vel textum emendandum vel versionem, vel utraque: nonnunquam ex una emendatione aliam: alia aliter. In summa, dedi operam ne, quod verendum erat, Te absente hoc opus minus elaboratum prodiret, quam cetera Tua egregia et merito suo celebratissima scripta. Sunt autem quaedam de quibus adhuc aliquid monendum mihi videbatur, ea in schedis annotata habeo, cogitabamque in ordinem redacta Tecum communicare: ut Tuo iudicio examinata, Addendorum nomine in fine operis subjicerentur. Sed tempore excludimur. Ceterum totam hanc operam si Tibi non incommodam visam intellexero, magnopere gaudebo, videborque mihi partem officii Tibi debiti explevisse: qui me et communiter cum omnibus literaribus cultoribus obstrictum habes eximiis Tuis in rem literariam meritis, et privatim, dum olim consilio et re juvisti, novaque nuper benignitate exhilarasti. Vale.

Viro Plurimum Reverendo atque
 Clarissimo
 JOANNI ALBERTO FABRICIO
 P. P. D. at
 Stephanus Bergler.

Absoluta jam Sexti impressione cujus inspectionem in me suscepseram, necessarium videtur praestite a me opere rationem reddere. Ita autem fuit: Post alium, semel perlegi Specimina typographica: quae ut correxer, transita malo, referri ad me curavi, et ultima revisione inspexi, ea duntaxat quae notaveram. Erat multum negotii, ut omnia et in se emendata quoad fieri posset: et specie externa, non deformia fierent, curvitate linearum, et aliis inequalitatibus. quod tamen alicubi obtinere non potuit, ut cum in una alteraque pagina linea archus stipata: initium libri alicujus minus decorè in fine pagina factum. illud a me serius animadversum, quod nescio quolagentes, tituli librorum mutati, v.g. βιβλίον τρίτον Σέξτο ἐμπόριον pro Σέξτο ἐμπόριον βιβλίον τρίτον. Si ego extendi curam meam ultra typographica, id fieri debere intelligebam. Facile animadvertere potui Te quaedam

que mutare velles reliquisse: quae relegentem baud fugissent, praesertim si ipse in imprimendo adfuisset, cum omnia etiam minima pensitarentur. V.g. p. 122. in tua Emendatione versionis recte evidentiam, relicto interim ἐνέγγλῃ, pro ἐνέγγλῃ quod in aliis locis postea bene à te repositum, nollem ibi etiam, à me. relictum. contra aliquando ex Tua emendatione textus Graeci colligere licuit emenda-

tionem pristinae versionis: quandoque ex Notis, vel textum emendandum vel versionem, vel utraque. nonnunquam ex una emendatione aliam: alia aliter. In summa, dedi operam ne, quod verendum erat, Te absente hoc opus minus elaboratum prodiret quam cetera Tua egregia et merito suo celebratissima Scripta. Sunt autem quaedam de quibus adhuc aliquid monendum mihi videbatur, ea in schedis annotata habeo. cogitabamque in ordinem redacta Tecum communicare: ut Tuo iudicio examinata, Addendorum nomine in fine operis subjicerentur. Sed tempore excludimur. Ceterum totam hanc operam si Tibi non incommodam visam intellexero, magnopere gaudebo, videborque mihi partem officii Tibi debiti explevisse: qui me et communiter cum omnibus literarum cultoribus abstractum habes eximius Tuis in rem Literariam mentis, et privatim, dum olim consilio et re juvisti, novaque me per benignitatem exhilarasti. Vale.

Brief Nr. 3

Dem sehr verehrten und angesehenen Herrn Joannes Albertus Fabricius Salutem ... dat Stephanus Bergler

Ich schreibe /Dir/ mit Verspätung. Dies geschieht vor allem, weil es notwendig war, mein kleines Werk zu erwähnen, was mir per Brief nicht so sehr gefällt: nämlich weil es mich nicht freut, meiner Arbeit zu gedenken, obwohl sie mir damals nicht lästig gewesen ist. Was du in bezug auf meine Bemerkungen verlangst: diese sind nicht derart schön, daß es sich lohnt, sie zu veröffentlichen, indem sie bloße Korrekturen und Mutmaßungen sind. Ich werde sie Dir zuschicken, falls ich die Gewißheit hätte, daß Du jedoch sie unbedingt zu sehen wünscht.

Zur Zeit teile ich Dir dies und jenes mit, wie es mir in den Sinn kommt. Statt διαφορούμενον ἄξιωμα, was häufiger vorkommt, meine ich, man sollte διαφορούμενον ἀξιωμα lesen. Es gibt mehrere Sachen auf S. 266, über die ich anders denke. Ich glaube immer noch, daß das, was ich über ἀσπειστος πόλεμος im ersten Brief geschrieben hatte, richtig sei. Bei Jul. Pollux I, S. 150 steht ἀσπειστοι ἐχθροί, dazu sieh die Anmerkung von Kühn³⁵. Eigentlich möchte ich, Du hättest das handschriftliche Exemplar bei Dir. Nun Schluß damit.

Mit Vergnügen habe ich aus deinem Brief über die Vorbereitung einer Ausgabe der *Academicae Quaestiones* von Cicero³⁶ erfahren: Dies interessiert mich. Von anderswoher habe ich von der Herausgabe der *Epictetischen /Schriften/* des Arrian³⁷ gehört.

Wenn Du etwas von meinen Beschäftigungen wissen möchtest: Ich ediere für einen sehr berühmten Mann³⁸ die *Scholia vetera* zu *Homer* aus dem Codex der "Pauliner Bibliothek", in dem die Schriften von Tzetzes im ersten /Teil/, aber nicht im ganzen sich befinden, mit langen Prolegomena, denen die Anmerkungen des Tzetzes selbst hinzugefügt sind³⁹. Dann befinden sich dort Auszüge aus Moscho-

35. Kühn schlägt vor: statt ἀσπειστοι sollte man ὑσπειστοι lesen.

36. Ciceros Academische Bucher, Darstellung der gesamten Philosophie.

37. *Encheiridion*, die Lehre des Stoikers Epiktetos (um 50-130), von seinem Schüler Flavius Arrianus notiert und zusammengestellt (Bologna 1497: *Epicteti Stoici Encheiridion*, lat. Übersetzung von Angelo Politiano).

38. Gemeint ist offensichtlich der Verleger Wettstein.

39. Es handelt sich um "Cod. Lipsiensis gr. 32" (frühere Signatur 1275, S. XV, fol. 1-50),

pulos im ersten /Teil/, wenige auch im zweiten. Dann das *Leben Homeri nach Herodot*; diese alle sind später geschrieben. Außerdem gibt es dort in einer alten Handschrift und auch Schreibweise die *Scholia vetera* ausführlich und ununterbrochen zum ersten bis zum 17. Buch S. 37; mir scheint, daß es sich lohnt, diese einzig zu edieren. Es gibt darunter am meisten vorzügliche Anmerkungen, die sich damit beschäftigen, die Kunst des Dichters zu zeigen, seine Lehre zu erforschen, Sachen zu erörtern, die zum Lebensgebrauch nützlich sind, Zweifel und Bedenken zu erheben und sie zu lösen, so daß ich kaum glauben kann, die heutigen *Zoils*⁴⁰ würden sich mehr ausdenken bei der Erörterung dunkler Sachverhalte und Ausdrücke; manchmal werden auch Wortetymologien überliefert, obwohl diese nicht immer passend sind, wobei sie manchmal gemischt erscheinen mit den anderen, die ausgezeichnet sind. Es werden hier nicht wenige Grammatiker erwähnt, die ich in Deiner "Bibliotheca /graeca/" nicht gefunden habe, /nämlich/ u.a. Homerausgaben, die des Sosigenes, die des Rhianos, die nach Philemon⁴¹: einige Male bezieht man sich auf alle Ausgaben wie z.B. für das erste Buch neunmal, für das zweite Buch zweimal, und dies gilt häufig für alle.

Aus den Scholien, die Horneius⁴² für das neunte Buch herausgegeben hat, kann man schließen, daß der "Codex Victorinus" entweder die gleichen, oder die meisten Quellen wie unser "Codex Paulinus" gehabt hat. Das habe ich als erster in "Acta eruditorum" gezeigt, in meiner Besprechung der Homer-Ausgabe von Barnesius.

Aus der gleichen Bibliothek /Paulina/ habe ich neulich die *Geschichte* des byzantinischen Historikers Genesios abgeschrieben und

der einen Teil der Exegesis von Tzetzes beinhaltet und den Bergler untersucht hatte (Das erste Buch der *Ilias*-Exegesis des Jo. Tzetzes ist vollständig in der Cambridger Handschrift (Cod. Cantabrig. gr. R. 1633, im Trinity College: S. XIV/XV, fol. 1-49v) erhalten, vgl. Hermann 1812; Gardthausen 1898: 38-40). Bergler erwähnt Joannes Tzetzes in seiner Buchbesprechung zu Moschopulos in "Acta eruditorum" Jahr 1719: S. 307 (vgl. Hermann 1812: VI).

40. Gemeint sind die zeitgenössischen Kommentatoren von Homer, vgl. "Bibliotheca graeca" Harless Bd. 1, 1966: S. 559-562.

41. Alle diese Namen werden jedoch in "Bibliotheca graeca" erwähnt, vgl. Harless, Bd. 12, 1970, Index: S. 49, 74, 80, 84.

42. Conradus Hornei/Hornejus (1590-1649) veröffentlichte *Scholia vetusta et oppido erudita in IX librum Illadis Homeri*. Heimstadii 1620 nach der Handschrift, die sich in "Bibliotheca Florentina Salvatorum" befand, untersucht von Petrus Victorius (1499-1584), vgl. *Erbse* 1969: XVI, XXVII, LXVII-LXVIII.

ins Lateinische übersetzt. Eine Kopie davon gibt es in der Senatsbibliothek, hergestellt von Bosius auf eine wenig gescheite und wenig sorgfältige Weise. Der Verfasser ist furchtbar unkultiviert und es mangelt ihm an Urteilskraft.

Ebenfalls habe ich Herodian übersetzt auf eine Weise, die geeigneter ist für den Gebrauch der Griechischlernenden, und die *getreuer ist als die Version von Politiano*⁴³.

All dies geschieht während mein Herodot liegenbleibt, über den ich jetzt, sowie über Aristophanes, nicht gerne mehr schreiben möchte. Ich freue mich, daß, wie ich durch die Lektüre des Sextus erkannt habe, mein Alkiphron von dir gelesen wurde. Er ist ein eleganter und besonderer Schriftsteller. Er hätte von mir mit mehr Lob empfohlen werden sollen, vor allem weil es jetzt wenig Leute gibt, die solche Erzeugnisse wünschen. Ich könnte vielleicht noch etwas über seine Schrift sagen und es wären noch interessantere Sachen zur Hand über den Autor selbst, über seine Zeit und anderes in diesem Zusammenhang.

Falls Du bisweilen vor hättest, mir zu schreiben, würde ich von Dir mehr als von irgendeinem anderen zu lernen haben und wäre Dir daher sehr dankbar. Ich bitte Dich, das zu tun. Lebe wohl. Der sehr geehrte und hoch angesehene Herr Wolf sei begrüßt.

Leipzig 1718, den 20. August.

Viro plurimum Reverendo atque Clarissimo, Joanni Alberto Fabricio S.P.D. Stephanus Bergler

Tarde rescribo. Hoc praecipue fit quia illius meae opellae mentio facienda necessario, quod non lubet per epistolam: tum quia laborum meorum nec meminisse juvat, quamvis tunc mihi non fuerint molesti. Quod postulas de annotatis meis, ea non sunt ita speciosa ut publicari mereantur, utpote nudae emendationes et conjuncturae. Videre tamen ea si omnino Te cupere intellexero, mittam alias. Unum saltem et alterum, ut nunc in mentem venit, afferam. Pro διαφοροῦμενον ἄξιωμα, quod saepius occurrit, legendum puto διαφοροῦμε-

43. Es handelt sich um die lateinische Übersetzung eines Codex von Angelo Politiano, eingeschlossen in der Edition Bonn 1493.

vov ἀξίωμα. Plura sunt p. 266 de quibus aliter sentio. De ἀσπαι-
 στος πόλεμος in prima Epistola scripseram, id verum adhuc puto.
 Jul. Pollux I. 150 ἀσπαιστοι ἐχθροί, ubi vid. Kühnii nota. Vellem sane
 Manuskriptum tuum exemplar penes te haberes. Sed de his satis.
De Academicarum Cic/eronis/ Quaestionum editione facienda liben-
 ter cognovi es Tuis literis: est affine argumentum. Aliunde percepi
 de Arriani *Epicteteis* edendis. Quod si de meis occupationibus ali-
 quid scire desideras. Describo nunc viro cuidam celeberrimo *Scholia*
antica in Homerum ex Bibliothecae Paulinae Codice, in quo Tzetzea
 habentur in Librum I non totum, cum longis prolegomenis, quibus
 insuper additae Annotationes ipsiusmet Tzetzae. Deinde quaedam
 ex Moscopulo collecta in Librum I et pauca in II. Deine *Vita Ho-*
meri secundum Herodotum, quae omnia recentioris scripturae. Post
 haec in antiqua charta et scriptura, Scholia Veterum perpetua co-
 piosa ab initio primi usque ad XVII^m in p. 37, quae sola visum
 est operae pretium si describerentur. Sunt egregia plerumque oc-
 cupata in ostendendo Poetae artificio, eruenda doctrina, notandis
 ad vitam et usum accomodis rebus, in movendis dubiis et objectioni-
 bus iisque solvendis satis crebro ut vix putem hodiernos Zoilos plura
 excogitasse in exponendis obscuris rebus et verbis: nonnunquam et
 Etymologiae vocum traduntur, quamvis hae non semper satis com-
 modae, ut aliunde admixta vedeantur illis egregiis. Grammatici hic
 non pauci memorantur quos non inveni, in Bibliotheca Tua, Edi-
 tiones Homeri praeter alias, αὐ Σωσιγένοῦς, ἢ Ἰππianoῦ, ἢ κατὰ Φι-
 λήμονα: aliquoties ad Editiones omnes provocatur, ut ad libr.
 I. novies, ad II. bis, sic plerumque οὕτως αὐ πᾶσαι. Victoriam Codi-
 cem aut eadem aut pleraque communia habuisse cum nostro colligi
 potest ex iis quod ad Lib. nonum edidit Hornejus quod primus
 indicavi in Actis Eruditorum recensens *Homerum* Barnesii. Ex
 eadem Bibliotheca *descripsi nuper Genesium Historiae Byz. Scrip-*
torem latineque verti. Ejus apographum est in Senatoria Bibliotheca
 factum a Bosio parum perite et satis negligenter. Scriptor est hor-
 ridus incultus, iudicii egens. Verti etiam Herodianum, accomodatius
 ad usum Graeca discentium et fidelius quam factum a Politiano.
 Haec omnia dum Herodotus meus jacet, de quo non est mihi jucun-
 dum nunc plura scribere, uti nec de Aristophanes. Alciphronem
 meum abs te lectitari, quod in Sexto cognovi, gaudeo. Elegans et
 singularis est auctor. Sed debuisset a me cum uberiore praeconio
 commendari, praesertim ut nunc sunt homines pauci appetentes

harum mercium. Verum cum de ejus scriptione fortasse aliquid dicere potuissem, speciosiora illa de ipso Auctore ejus aetate rebusque affinibus, haud suppetebant. Quod si, cum aliquando ad me scribere visum fuerit, aliquid edocebor abs Te, quo neminem aequè posse puto, gratissimum semper habebò. Idque ut facias rogo. Vale.

Rev. atque clariss. Wolfium salutari velim.

Lipsiae 1718. d. 20 Aug.

20/8, 1718 35

Viro plurimum Reuerendo atque
 Clarissimo.
 Joanni Alberto Fabricia.
 S. P. D.
 Stephanus Bergler.



Tarde rescribo. Hoc praecipue fit quia illius mea o-
 pella mentio facienda necessario, quod non lubet per e-
 pistolam: tum quia laborem meorum nec meminisse jurest,
 quamvis tunc mihi non fuerint molesti. Quod postulas de anti-
 quitatibus meis, ea non sunt ita speciosa ut publicari mereantur,
 utpote nuda emendationes et conjecturae. Videre tamen
 ea: si omnino Te cupere intellexero, mittam alias. Unam
 saltem et alteram, ut una in mentem venit, afferam. Pro diapho-
 raeis aëtiis, quod saepius occurrit, legendum puto diapho-
 raeis aëtiis. plura sunt p. 200. de quibus aliter sentio. de
 aëtiis vero in prima Epistola scripseram, id verum adhuc puto.
 Jul. Pollux l. 10. aëtiis in Epistola ubi v. Kühnii nota. Vellem sane
 Me. Tuum exemplar penes Te haberes. Sed de his satis. De Aca-
 demicarum Cic. Quastionum editione facienda libenter cognosce.

Tuis literis: e, hactenus argumentum. Aliunde percepi de Arriani
Epictetis edendis. Quod si de meis occupationibus aliquid scire
desideras. Describo nunc viro cuidam Celeberrimo Schoia an-
tiqua in Homerum. ex Bibliotheca Paulina Codice, in quo Tze-
tze^a habentur in librum I. non totum, cum longis prolegomenis,
quibus insuper addita Annotationes ipsiusmet Tzetze. Dem-
de quadam ex Moschopulo collecta in Librum I. et paucap^{IV} II.
Deinde Vita Homeri secundum Herodotum. quae omnia recen-
tionis scriptura. Post haec in antiqua charta et scriptura, Scho-
lia Veterum perpetua copiosa ab initio primi usque ad XVIII^m

p. 27. quae sola visum est opere pretium si describerentur. Sunt
exerea plerumque occupata in ostendendo Poëtae artificio,
erueunda doctrina, ^{et aliter} utendum ad vitam et usum accommodis rebus,
in mouendis dubiis et objectionibus usque solvendis tam cre-
bro ut viri prae hodiernos Zailos plura excogitasse. In expo-
nendis obliuiscis rebus et verbis: nonnunquam et Etymologia vo-
cum traduntur, quamvis haec non semper satis commoda, ut aliunde
admissa videantur illis egregiis. Grammatici hic non pauci
memorantur quas non inveni in Bibliotheca Tua, Editiones Home

ri prater alias, αἱ Στοιχίαι, ἡ Πιρρῶ, ἡ κατὰ Ἐπιάνορα:
 aliquoties ad Editiones omnes provocatur, ut libr. I. novies, ad II.
 bis, sic plerumque, ἑῶν αἱ ἀόροι. Victorianum Codicem aut
 eadem aut pleraque communia habuisse cum nostro colligi po-
 test ex iis quæ ad Lib. I. nonum edidit Hornejus. quod primus in-
 dicavi in Actis Eruditorum recensens Homerum Barnesium.

Ex eadem Bibliotheca descripti nuper Genesius Heftioria
Byz. scriptorem, latineque versi. Ejus apographum est in

Senatoria Bibliotheca, factum à Bolio parum perite et satis
 negligenter. scriptor est horridus incultus, judicii egens.
Ἡ ἑρσι καὶ Ἡ Ἡροδοτῶν, accommodatus ad usum Græca
discipulorum et fidelius quam factum à Pelitiano. Hæc o-
 mnia dum Herodotus meus jacet, de quo non est mihi ju-
 cundum nunc plura scribere, uti nec de Aristophane. Al-
 ciphronem meum abs te lectitari, quod in Sexto cognovi, gau-
 deo. Elegans et singularis est auctor. sed debuisset à me
 cum uberiore præconio commendari, præsertim ut nunc sunt
 homines pauci appetentes harum mercium. Verum cum de ejus
 descriptione fortasse aliquid dicere potuissem, speciosiora illa
 de ipso Auctore ejus ætate rebusque affinibus, hæc superre-
 rebant. Quod si, cum aliquando ad me scribere visum fuerit,
 aliquid edocebor abs te, quo neminem æque posse puto,
 gratissimum Imper habebo. idque et facias rogo. Vale.
 Rev. atque Clariss. Wolffium salutare velim.

Lippia 1718. d. 20. Aug.

Brief Nr. 4

Dem sehr hochangesehenen und sehr gelehrten Herrn Albertus Fabricius Professor an der ruhmreichen Akademie zu Hamburg.
Dem sehr verehrten Herrn. In Hamburg.

Sehr hochangesehener und sehr gelehrter Herr, sehr verehrter Herr,

Neuerdings wurde der von Dir, hoch angesehener Herr, vorbereitete 11. Band der "Bibliotheca Graeca" seiner Erlaucht, dem Herzog, meinem sehr barmherzigen Herr, überreicht. Diesen /Band/ hat seine Erlaucht mit sehr dankbarem Herzen empfangen, wobei er die sehr reiche Gelehrsamkeit und das so scharfsinnige Urteil des hochangesehenen Schenkers gelobt hat. Nicht weniger hat dem Herzog der so tüchtige, ihm gegenüber /gezeigte/ Fleiß und die vortreffliche Humanitas gegenüber der ruhmreichen griechischen Nation gefallen. Seine Erlaucht hat mich dazu aufgefordert, daß ich den Schenkenden auf eine sehr gefällige Weise in seinem Namen grüße, und daß ich ihn stets zum Fortschreiten in den Studien der griechischen Sprache ermuntere; als Zeichen seiner Wertschätzung und seines Wohlwollens soll er von dem Briefträger 40 Gulden bekommen und die Belohnung bestätigen. Außerdem wünsche ich, Dir möge es immer gut gehen zum Wohl des Staates der Wissenschaften. Dem hochangesehenen Schenker viele Grüße.

Bukarest, ... den 22. August 1722

Dein ergebener Diener
Nicolaus Wolff
Sekretär des barmherzigen
Herrschers der Walachei

Das Vorliegende soll von Fritz nach Hamburg gebracht werden, zusammen mit den 40 Gulden, wobei eine Quittung über die 40 Gulden auszustellen ist.

Clarissimo ac Eruditissimo viro Domino Alberto Fabricio Inclytae Academiae Hamburgensis Professori—Domino Observantissimo. Hamburgi.

Clarissime et Eruditissime Domine. Domine Observantissime.

Oblatus nuper fuit Serenissimo Principi Domino, Domino meo Clementissimo, undecimus Tomus Bibliothecae Graecae a Te Clarissime Vir Concinnatae, quem Sua Serenitas gratissimo accepit animo magnopere laudando uberrimam eruditionem, et exactissimum iudicium Datoris Tuae Clarissimae. Non mediocriter placuit principi luculentum erga te studium, et eximia erga inclytam nationem Graecorum humanitas.

Injunxit mihi Sua Serenitas, ut Suo nomine perofficiose Dato-rem orans salutarem, atque magis ac magis adhortarer ad promovenda Linguae Graecae Studia; in signum vero Sua existimationis et benevolentiae accipiet ab exhibitore praesentium bonique consulet *quadraginta aureos*. Caeterum Reipublicae Literariae diuturne sospes permanens opto.

Clarissimae Datoris Vale.

Bukuresti

D.: 22. Aug. 1722

Addictissimus Servus

Nicolaus Wolff

Ser. Prin. Val.: Secretarius

Τὸ παρὸν νὰ σταλθῇ εἰς τὸ Χαμπόυρ, μὲ τὸ μέσον τοῦ Φρήτζ μα-
ζι καὶ μὲ τὰ σαράντα φλωρία, καὶ νὰ παρθῇ ἡ ἀπόκρισις πῶς ἐδό-
θησαν τὰ σαράντα φλωρία.

¶
 Clarissime et Eruditissimo Viri
 Domino Alberto Fabricio
 Inclitae Academiae Ham-
 burgenſis Professore. —
 Domino Reverendissimo.

Hamburgi

¶
 Clarissime et Eruditissime Domine
 Domine Reverendissime.

Obſtutus nuper fuit Reverendissimo Principi Domini
 Domino meo Clementissimo, undecimus Primus
 Bibliotheca Graeca q̃ de Clarissime Viri Con-
 cinnata, quem haec eruditus gratissimo
 accepit animo, magnopere Laudando uberrimam
 eruditionem, et exactissimum Iudicium Dñi de
 Clarissima. non mediocriter placuit Principi
 Puulentum erga et Studium, et eximia erga

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IZABELLA PAPP

GREEK MERCHANTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
JÁSZKUNSÁG

In the eighteenth century the Greeks residing in Hungary played an important role in the economic and commercial life of the country. There is no comprehensive work dealing with their activity and history, it is only the history of territories with major companies and parishes that we know. The papers dealing with Balkan merchants collectively called "the Greeks" very often express contradictory opinions. Their presence is sometimes associated with exporting capital, a very harmful process to the country's economy, while in other cases they are considered to be the founders and main representatives of Hungarian capitalism. One cause of the opposing judgements may be the fact that the various territories and communities in the country themselves had different attitudes to foreign merchants, owing to differences in their own ability to take part in commerce, the state of their industry, the degree of their need for Balkan goods or for mediators in selling their own products. The contradictory opinions call our attention to the importance of further investigations into local history, since the picture will not be clear unless we collect data from all parts of the country where these merchants appeared or lived.

This paper aims at showing the numerical proportion, the places of settlement, and the activity of the Greeks in the *Jászkunság* (Jazygo-Cumania in central Hungary) on the basis of archival documents. The Greeks settling in the *Jászkunság* found themselves under special economic and social circumstances. Privileges granted by monarchs made this area very different from other municipal authorities.

The administrative and legal position of the Jászkunság in the eighteenth century

The *Jászkunság*, situated between the rivers Danube and Tisza, did not form a unified territory, it consisted of Jazygia, Little-Cumania, and Great-Cumania. The three separate territories were joined into one administrative unit, collectively called *Jászkun Kerület* or *Hármas Kerület* (Triple District).

The centres of Little Cumania, Great Cumania and Jazygia were Kiskunhalas, Karcag, and Jászberény respectively. Jászberény was also the common seat of the three territories (Pl. I).

The word "*Jászkun*" preserved the names of two peoples, differing in their ethnicity, manners, and culture: the "jász" (Jazygians) and the "kun" (Cumanians). The Comans were settled in Hungary by Béla IV (1235-70). They populated the deserted areas in the *Tiszántul* (east of the Tisza), between the Danube and the Tisza, and in *Temesköz* (between the rivers Maros and Temes). The Jazygians were of Iranian origin and arrived in Hungary partly together with the Comans, partly, in greater numbers, in the fourteenth century. From the time of their arrival both peoples were granted important privileges. Charters which raised them to a privileged state were given to the Comans by Ladislas IV (1272-90) and to the Jazygians by Charles I (1307-42) in 1279 and 1323 respectively¹. Neither the Comans nor the Jazygians were bound to perform personal services and payment and the serf and lord relationship did not develop in these territories. The land of the Jazygo-Comans — even under Turkish supremacy — was considered to be crown estate. The owner was the king, who exercised his power by the palatine, the highest administrative dignity in Hungary. The palatine was the chief justice and the highest authority of the Jazygo-Comans. On the basis of their privileges the Jazygo-Comans had a considerable degree of self-government, which was similar to that of the royal boroughs. This favourable legal status, however, was combined with rather heavy responsibilities. They were obliged to provide the palatine's emoluments to fulfill military service and in times of war they were mobilized under the crown.

Turkish supremacy caused considerable depopulation in these areas as well. The greatest decrease in the number of inhabitants occurred in Little Cumania, while it was Great Cumania that suffered most during the War of Liberation. The location of Jazygia gave it relative security. During the resettlement, the majority of the population was replaced. From this time on we cannot speak about pure Jazygian and Cumanian ethnic groups. The term "Jazygo-Coman" no longer carries a primarily ethnic meaning, rather it expresses a homogeneity of the area based on its privileged state.

In 1702 the Jászkunság temporarily lost its privileged legal status, when Leopold I (1657-1705) sold the territory to the Order of the Teutonic Knights

1. István Gyárfás, *A jász-kunok története* Szolnok, 1883, vol. III, pp. 40-49; Gábor Bagi, *A Jászkun Kerület és a reformországgyűlések (1825-1847)*, Szolnok, 1989, manuscript, pp. 1-8.

for 500,000 Rhenish forints. Thus the inhabitants became feudal tenants. Actually, they never acknowledged the seignorial supremacy of the Teutonic Knights, and tried to regain their free status. This effort was primarily the reason why they joined forces in the War of Independence (1703-11) led by Prince Rákóczi. Rákóczi (1705-11) confirmed their former privileges but his cause was defeated and the *Jászkunság* failed to regain the privileges².

It was Maria Theresa (1740-80), who made it possible for the Jazygo-Comans to win back their former rights in 1745. The inhabitants made a huge financial sacrifice and took on various loans to repay the price. The event was known as the "Jazygo-Coman Redemption" and the legal status it brought about was very similar to the former privileges. This special, privileged status and territorial detachment of the *Jászkunság* continued till 1876, when Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County was established. The common bearing of burdens, the privileged state, and the self-assurance springing from the redemption developed a relatively closed community. At the start it created a favourable framework for the development of a free peasantry, but later, together with a conservative adherence to the privileges, it hindered the development of capitalism.

We shall now examine how this territory, in many respects different from other municipal authorities of the country, accepted the foreign merchants arriving with their goods in greater and greater numbers.

The appearance of the Greek merchants in the Jászkunság and the first national census

The presence of the Greek merchants in the *Jászkunság* may be considered continuous from the time of the Turkish supremacy. They appeared between the rivers Danube and Tisza — thus in the *Jászkunság* — at the same time as the Turks. They could trade freely in the territories under Turkish rule and by the end of the seventeenth century the commerce of the whole area was in the hands of the Greeks³.

We have no data concerning the time of the first appearance or settling of Greek merchants. The surnames of Greek origin (Illija, Márko, Pap, Nyrcó, Szappanos) in the Pentz's census⁴ indicate that some of them made

2. József Kiss, *A Jászkun Kerület parasztsága a Német Lovagrend földesúri hatósága idején 1702-1731*; Budapest, 1979, pp. 29-31.

3. Ödön Fűves, "Görögök a Duna-Tisza közén", in *Antik Tanulmányok*, 1966, p. 92 (hereinafter referred to as Fűves, 1966).

4. The census was ordered before the area was sold to the Order of the Teutonic Knights

their living here as early as the time of Turkish supremacy⁵. It was in the eighteenth century that they arrived in this area in greater numbers. Though their number never exceeded sixty or eighty during the century, their activity proved to be essential for the Jazygo-Comans, who primarily dealt with agriculture and stock-breeding.

This part of the country was in many respects favourable for the Greeks for intermediate trade and settlement. In the period of meddling the main destination was Pest and Vienna, so most of the commercial routes crossed the *Jászkunság* or at least part of it. The territory was also a good buyer's market for both Eastern and Western commodities, as neither royal free boroughs nor merchants other than the Greeks were in the immediate vicinity. The inhabitants of scattered villages could not acquire the goods in any other way, thus the Greeks did not have to compete with anybody. It was an important aspect for them that this territory was close enough to the Turkish Empire to enable them to reach their own country easily from here. They had good opportunities to maintain their family and business connections here and they could cherish the hope of returning home even after settling here.

These aspects played an important role in the process that made the areas between the Danube and the Tisza and east of the Tisza the most heavily populated by the Greeks. The centre of the land water routes leading from the south to the north was Pest, so this town became the centre of the Greek population in Hungary. Their number was much lower in Transdanubia and Northern Hungary⁶.

In the papers of the Szolnok County Archive examined so far, the first piece of information concerning the Greeks is from 1732⁷. In this document the merchants of Jazygo-Cumania and Heves and Külső Szolnok Counties asked permission to continue to stay, settle, and sell their goods freely in this part of the country. The petition was written because in this period the native merchants frequently complained about the many advantages of their foreign competitors. The Imperial Court of Vienna issued the first restrictive act in

to estimate its financial strength and the probable amount of duty. Kristóf Pentz, the census-taker of the Treasury, was charged with conducting it. The original census may be found in the National Archives: U et C Fasc. 71, No 4.

5. Márta Nagy, "The Iconostasion of the Greek Orthodox Church in Karcag", in *Balkan Studies*, 28(1987), p. 237.

6. Ödön Fűves, *Görögök Pesten 1686-1931*, Budapest, 1972, doctoral thesis, p. 280 (hereinafter Fűves, 1972).

7. Szolnok Megyei Levéltár (Archives of Szolnok County, hereinafter SZML.) Jászkun Kerület közgyűlési jegyzőkönyv 1732, pp. 16-18.

1725 limiting the Greeks' wholesale activity to Turkish goods and their retail activity to participation in fairs⁸.

The support of the *Jászkun Kerület* for the Greeks was expressed in the decision of the General Assembly, which was forwarded to the Council of the Governor-General (*Consilium regium locumtenentiale Hungaricum*). It explained that the Greeks living here were "never injurious to the inhabitants, rather they served to their advantage both by bearing the common expenses and by the payment of taxes, and the Royal Treasury gained much from them. Because the inhabitants live in sparsely populated areas, it is the Greeks from whom they can cheaply purchase clothes, salt, pepper, and other minor essentials". Again it was very advantageous for the population that the Greeks bought their corn, wine, and other foods tuffs at market price or exchanged these for their own wares. An important circumstance mentioned in the explanation is the fact that the Greeks often lent money to the residents "without any rating or interest"⁹.

The above-mentioned decision records the situation in the *Kerület*, and documents the good relations between the Greeks and the local residents. A similarly favourable opinion was characteristic of the later relationship between the people of the *Jászkunság* and the Greeks. Archival documents show that the statutes and questionnaires concerning the Greeks were always returned with answers advantageous to the foreign merchants. The Jazygo-Comans were tolerant in executing the various restrictive orders, which must have been profitable for both parties. The commercial and financial activity of the well-to-do and business-orientated Greeks nicely complemented the farming and animal husbandry practised by the local residents. Later, the Greeks who had settled in the *Jászkunság* did not only take part in the economic life of the communities but in some places they also became public figures.

In other parts of the country their reception was not unanimously favourable. They were not welcome in the towns, where the local people themselves dealt with commerce. Debrecen, for example, did not let them settle¹⁰, and the northern towns resisted them as well¹¹. The reason was that the duty con-

8. Füves, 1966, p. 93.

9. SZML Jászkun Kerület közgyűlési jegyzőkönyv 1732, p. 19, quoted by Márta Nagy, 1987, p. 237.

10. Lajos Zoltai, *Debrecen város százados küzdelme a görög kereskedőkkel*, Debrecen, 1935.

11. István Högye, "A görögök szerepe Hegyalja életében a 18. században", in *Miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum Közleményei*, 10(1977), p. 13; István Dobrossy, A 17-19. századi újgörög diaszpóra néprajzi jelentősége Északkelet-Magyarországon, in *Interetnikus kapcsó-*

cessions laid down in the peace treaties ensured very favourable conditions for the Greeks to exchange their goods. While the local inhabitants had to pay a thirtieth at every customs post, and very often other taxes were imposed on them, the Greeks could trade after paying a single 3% or, later, 5% duty. By reducing the duties the Imperial Court of Vienna aimed at securing a good market for local products, but the poor conditions enabled the Greek merchants turn it to their own advantage¹².

In 1725 the repeated complaints of native merchants resulted in the restrictive orders mentioned above. Later, various measures regulating trading activity followed one another. Their implementation, however, depended primarily on foreign policy. For Maria Theresa — during her long wars — the neutrality of the Porte was important, so it often happened that certain restrictions were not published, or the published ones were not enforced¹³. There are several recurring orders among the documents of the *Jászkun Kerület* from this time.

Royal orders increasingly urged the Greeks to settle down, which would have meant the end of their duty concession. In 1741, Maria Theresa decreed that only the foreigners who brought their families out of the Turkish Empire could practise their trade¹⁴. Most of the merchants ignored the order, and in the areas where the Greeks' goods were needed even the local authorities proved to be tolerant.

The inhabitants of Jászberény —together with some other towns and counties— asked the Council of the Governor-General to authorize the trading activity of the Greeks "because there are no royal free boroughs in the area, and thus there are no merchants, and if the Greeks did not come into the village every now and then, the inhabitants would have to neglect their work for days in order to obtain even the most basic household utensils"¹⁵.

It was in 1754 that the national census of the Greeks was conducted for the first time¹⁶. In the *Jászkunság* there lived seventy-five Balkan merchants

latok Északkelet - Magyarországon, ed. Erno Kunt, József Szabadfalvi, Gyula Viga, Miskolc 1984, p. 168.

12. Peace treaties governing the legal status of Turkish subjects: 1699: Karlovác, 1718: Pozsarevác, 1739: Belgrád. cf. Márta Bur, "A balkáni kereskedők és a magyar borkivitel a XVIII. században", in *Történelmi Szemle*, 1978, p. 282.

13. Ferenc Eckhart, "Kereskedelmünk közvetítői a XVIII. században", in *Századok*, LII (1918), pp. 362-3, 376-7.

14. *Magyar Törvénytár 1740-1835*, ed. Dezső Márkus, Budapest, 1901, Mária Terézia 1741, évi dekrétuma I, 29, cikkely.

15. Eckhart, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-2.

16. Füves, 1972, p. 32.

at that time. Thirty-three of them were independent merchants or family members, nineteen were partner traders (*quaestus socii*), seven were journeymen (*sodales*), eight apprentices (*tyrones*), and eight servants (*famuli*). The census contains only the names of the merchants and their status in trading activity (Table 1)¹⁷. Beside the names of all merchants it was noted that they belonged to the Kecskemét company. The Greek company in Kecskemét was founded in 1708 by twenty-six merchants¹⁸. Similar corporations were never established in the *Jászkunság*. Besides the territorial disunity and the small number of merchants, this fact must have been due to the lack of competition. As for the earlier period, when the *Jászkunság* was under Turkish rule, the Greeks —being Turkish subjects— did not need to safeguard their interests by forming such corporations¹⁹.

Interestingly enough, sometimes it was the councils of the communities that undertook to support the Greeks' interests. In 1753, for example, at the request of Görög Dorian Miklos, the council of Karcag prohibited all trade by non-local merchants²⁰.

It is very difficult to identify the persons because they used various alternatives of their names spelled in diverse forms. Therefore hereinafter we will use the Greek names in the form given in the historical sources.

From the data of the 1769 national census relating to the Jászkunság

Another national census of the Greeks took place under decree No 901 of the Council of the Governor-General issued on 25th April 1769²¹. The decree was made public at the General Assembly of the *Jászkun Kerület* on 19th June, 1769, and by April 1770 all three areas had completed the census of the foreign merchants living there. The results were presented to the General Assembly on 7th April 1770 and the report was forwarded to the Council of the Governor-General²².

17. Országos Levéltár (National Archives), Helytartótanácsi iratok. Görög nem egyesült osztály, Misc. Fasc. 2, No 8.

18. Edit Petri, "A kecskeméti görög kereskedők története a XVIII. században", in *Cumania*, Kecskemét, 1975, pp. 35-40.

19. Füves, 1972, p. 22.

20. SZML Karcag város protocolluma 1736.1752, p. 184, quoted by Márta Nagy, 1987, p. 239.

21. Füves, 1966, p. 96.

22. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai, C Capsa, VI. Fasc. 2, No 53; *ibid.*, D Capsa, VI. Fasc. 4, No 24 1/2.

TABLE 1

The Greeks living in the Jászkunság on the basis of the 1754 national census

<i>Nomina et cognomina</i>	<i>Hospites Filii Fratres</i>			<i>Quaestus socii</i>	<i>Sodales</i>	<i>Tyrones</i>	<i>Famuli</i>
Nicolaus Thodor	1			1			1
Martinus Takács	1			2			
Georgius Juhász	1						
Joannes Juhász	1						2
Joannes Pál	1			1			
Georgius Dorian	1			1			
Joannes Constantin	1	1					3
Andreas Demeter	1						
Michaël Nagy	1	1					1
Georgius Kalló	1	2					1
alter Georgius Kalló	1			1			
Ladislau Zvana	1			1			
Thomas Halacsi	1			1		1	
Georgius Demeter	1			1		1	
Joannes Rusa	1			1			
Michaël Elias	1					1	
Sigismundus Márton	1						
Georgius Demeter	1						
Joannes Ferenczi				1			
Stephanus Damascus	1			1			
Luca Rusa	1						
Georgius Lúka	1			1			
Csoma Sánta				1			
Andreas Kristoff	1				2	3	
Ladislau Háczi	1			1	2		
Michael Nestor	1			1	2	1	
Joannes Gergel	1						
Michael Juhász	1			2			
Petrus Juhász	1					1	
Georgius Nico	1			1	1		
Thomas Papp	1						
Summa	29	3	1	19	7	8	8

(Országos Levéltár - National Archives - Gn.O Misc. Fasc. 8, No 2)

The census, prepared on the basis of a detailed questionnaire, offers a wealth of information about Greek merchants. The following details were filled in: the name of the merchant, his age, religion, physical description, and place of origin, the date of his entering Hungary, various documents (certificate of health, passport, papers proving that he had paid the taxes, residence permit), the route he wished to follow, his present abode, the nature of his commercial activities, the kinds of goods he dealt in, and the number of persons arriving with him.

The census contained the data of all the *Jászkunság* merchants in alphabetical order. There were sixty-five Greek merchants altogether in various areas of the three districts. (Three of them provided very inadequate data.) All of them were Greek Orthodox Christians, and all but one came from Macedonia. (Gergely Joannes came from Romania, was 53 years old, and lived in Jászberény.) Most of the merchants were from two towns of Macedonia: twenty-three from Kozani and twenty from Siatista. And some merchants originated from Doiran, Kastoria and Seres.

Almost all had left their motherland young. Many of them had first arrived in Hungary before the age of fifteen. In these cases they usually did not travel alone but with their parents, relatives, or merchants who had been here before. Family connections and acquaintances played an important role later on, for example, when taking the oath, and settling down afterwards.

According to the census, the Greeks arriving in Hungary crossed the border most of at Pancsova, Zemlin, and Vidin. For those who travelled and crossed the borders frequently, the health certificate was very important and was checked thoroughly because of the Black Death. At the main crossing places quarantine stations were set up, from where they could go on only after satisfactory disinfection of goods and persons²³. Most of the merchants included in the census had spent some time in demurrage, usually forty days in Zimony. Documents certifying the payment of both the Turkish and the toleration taxes were also important. Still, hardly any merchants had them. In most cases, we find a note that they had no documents at all. This refers to the fact that the authorities had not demanded them and at the same time we may suppose that the Greeks very often did not enter Hungary at the official crossing places²⁴.

Luckily, all the personal documents of a few merchants were preserved among the papers of the *Jászkun Kerület*, thus we find here the travel documents

23. Petri, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

24. Füves, 1972, p. 280.

mentioned above. One of them is a remarkable three-metre-long roll held together by thread; it contains fourteen tax certificates, and documents the travels of Andrea Kristóf²⁵. Among the papers of Hadzsi Demeter, a Kun-szentmárton merchant, besides the tax and health certificates we find a document that certifies his swearing the oath of loyalty²⁶ (Pl. 2). The number of travel documents among the papers of merchants indicates the time and frequency of their crossing the border.

A very important point in the census was examining family status. The Government agencies assumed with good reason that those who had family members left in Turkey would keep going back there. Thus the exchange of goods and the business connections would not cease, which resulted in so many restricting orders. At that time it was already strictly ordained that business could be done only by those who had brought their wives and children from the Turkish Empire and had settled here permanently.

Most of the Greeks in the *Jászkunság* were single. Fourteen of them declared that their wives and children lived in the Turkish Empire. Some of them had not decided whether they would settle in Hungary or return to their motherland. Three merchants were widowed and seven had Hungarian wives, five of whom were from Eger and two from Szentendre. These Greeks, of course, were willing to take up residence here.

On the basis of the census, we may state that it was Popovics Demetrius who arrived in Hungary first, in 1717, with a Belgrade passport. He was a seventy-year-old widower from Macedonia, who lived in Kunhegyes, where he sold miscellaneous goods from Vienna and Turkey. Most of the merchants crossed the border for the first time in the 1740s and 1750s.

The Greeks traded mostly in miscellaneous Austrian (Viennese) and Turkish goods and sometimes in wares from Leipzig. Miscellaneous goods and small articles (*merces minutiores*) might mean all kinds of things: optical devices, jewellery, combs, lamps, irons, brush-maker's products, sealing wax²⁷. Oriental silk, fine linen, felt, leather products, and cotton were essential imports. It is these kinds of articles that were found in the shops of *Kiskunság* when an inventory of Turkish goods was drawn up in 1773²⁸ (Pl. 3). Besides the Oriental wares, almost every merchant sold Western goods as well, and some of them stocked only the latter. It is very informative in this respect to

25. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatásai iratai, D Capsa, XIV. Fasc. 11, No 1.

26. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai, Fasc. 8, No 2268.

27. Eckhart, *op. cit.*, p. 385-90.

28. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai, D Capsa, IX. Fasc. 2, No 28.

study the wills and inventories of estate, as they reveal the ratio of Eastern goods to Western. After settling it became more difficult for the merchants to obtain foreign goods, so they gradually introduced Hungarian-bought merchandise into their shops. The inventory of the estate of a Kunszentmárton merchant, Vaitz István, taken in 1793, demonstrates the above-mentioned structure of stock. It was drawn up in a period when the Greeks had already settled in Hungary, but their connections with their motherland had not ceased²⁹. The stock must have been well adapted to the needs of local residents. There are no indications that shops were closed down in the *Jászkunság*, and all the restricting ordinances were sent back with the comment that the Greeks did not sell prohibited goods in the area.

Some Greeks in the census did not have their own businesses; they were rather partners or apprentices in a shop. This meant that while one of the partners was travelling around with his goods, which he very often even exchanged for crops, the other was working in the shop, making purchases, and lending money to those in need. There were many moneylenders in the *Jászkunság*, as the local residents could not afford to grant credit and had no experience in financial activities. It was the Greeks who introduced these kinds of financial activities to the region and they became especially important after the 1745 redemption. It placed a great financial burden on the population, who needed various loans to pay it off. At the same time, in almost all larger places there lived a Greek shopkeeper or tenant who could give loans. Very often the Greeks sold goods on credit even in the towns. The fact that all this influenced the good relations developed in the area is proved by the letters and notes in which people asked the Greeks for loans or extensions of loans. Their tone is more friendly than formal³⁰.

The census shows that in 1769 Greeks lived in all major settlements. The largest number of merchants (fifteen) was found in Jászberény, the chief town of the area. This is where their number continued to be the highest, and even though it was not very high their presence had a great influence on local public life. Here too they were most successful in competing against their economic competitors, the Jews. The geographical situation and the administrative function of Jászberény also helped the Greeks. Jászberény was not depopulated even in the Turkish period, and the Turks themselves respected its privileged situation and regarded it as an important centre. The town was

29. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. Fasc. 1, No 1698/1797.

30. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. Fasc. 11, No 1, Polgári perek. 24. füz. 1, kőt. 27, sz. / 1826.

ensured considerable revenue by the fact that it was the chief town of the *Jászkun Kerület* till 1876, when Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County was established. Its location made it possible for the merchants to visit Eger, Tokaj, and Gyöngyös, where they set up not only business but family connections as well. Many of the merchants had wives from Eger. No Greek church was built in the *Jászkunság*, so the Greeks of this area attended the services at the Greek Orthodox church in Gyöngyös.

According to the 1769 census the Greeks were equally distributed throughout the three *Kerülets*: twenty-three, twenty-one, and again twenty-one Greeks lived in the *Jászság*, the *Nagykunság* and the *Kiskunság* respectively.

The loyalty oath

Maria Theresa's edict of 1774, in which she demanded that the foreign merchants willing to settle in Hungary and the hereditary provinces should give up all connections with Turkey and take a loyalty oath, was decisive in the lives of the Greeks in the *Jászkunság* as well³¹. The 1769 census was conducted in preparation for the edict and after it the government authorities urged the taking of the oath. This was all to do with the changing foreign policy, which had always affected the orders concerning the Greeks and the strictness of their implementation. The Turkish Empire did not endanger the Imperial Court of Vienna at that time. The Court also tried to incorporate the privileged Greek merchants into its customary colonizing policy, by making them settle and thus reducing their rights to the level of those of native merchants. They also hoped to put an end to capital exports in this way.

The royal edict of 1774 contained a definite directive concerning the loyalty oath³²: those merchants who were not willing to settle were to sell their goods, shops, and personal property within six months. (The time-limit was later extended to one year.) An official committee was set up in the *Jászkun Kerület* with the following members: Pál Dósa, the "Jazygian captain", András Pethes, and László Várkonyi assessors of the County Court. The merchants who were willing to settle took the loyalty oath in their presence using a set formula (*formula juramenti*).

It was in November 1773, that a list was prepared of the merchants who had taken the loyalty oath. The list enumerated the merchants according to their place of residence³³:

31. Fülves, 1966, p. 96.

32. SZML Turkeve iratai. Protocollum Currentalium 1771-1779, pp. 211-215.

33. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. D Capsa IX. Fasc. 4, No 5.

Jászberény

Andreas Kristoff
Ladislaus Hadzi
Demetrius Kristoff
Joannes Fekete
joannes Juhász
Bernardus Kristoff
Petrus Marczal
Stephanus Marczal
Michael Nestor
Daniel Demeter
Thomas Petrovics
Antonius Bosnyák

Arokszállás

Constantinus Juhász

Jászapáti

Michael Juhász
Joannes Damocsola
Georgius Nicola

Jászladány

Joannes Molnár

Jáskisér

Georgius Pap
Joannes Pap

Jászfényszaru

Thomas Zsigmond

Karcag

Joannes Szappanos
Theodorus Kondoross

Kisujszállás

Michael Miklós

Stephanus Gobovics
Antonius Constantin

Kunhegyes

Christopher Demeter

Kunmadaras

Michael Zakarias
Joannes Kozma

Halas

Demetrius János
Theodorus János

Kunszentmiklós

Stephanus Pap

Fülöpszállás

Georgius Zsigmond

Szabadszállás

Georgius Demeter
Joannes Illés
Theodorus Illés
Stephanus Zabire

Majsa

Nicolaus Demeter

Kunszentmárton

Theodorus Kalló
Stephanus Vajics
Michael Kosztya

Lacháza

Joannes Rosa

Kiskunfélegyháza

Joannes László
Joannes Marko
Georgius Fóti

The same document contains the name and personal data of the merchants who took the oath in the presence of the committee till 1781. The names were made public before the General Assembly of the *Kerület* from time to time and then forwarded to the Council of the Governor-General³⁴.

34. *Ibid.*

Zavírász György, an outstanding Greek scholar in Hungary, took the loyalty oath in Kunszentmiklós on 1st December 1776. He played an important role in keeping alive the national awareness of the Greeks and he was a writer and translator of grammars, dictionaries and ritual books. He arrived in Hungary at the age of sixteen, and lived first in Ráckeve and then in Kálcsa. Later he moved to Kunszentmiklós, and when living in Szabadszállás he wrote his most important work, *Nea Hellas* ... between 1790 and 1804³⁵.

The loyalty oath of Zavírász György was announced in Jászberény on 11th January, 1777. Compelled by the existing strict orders, he had obtained a certificate from the episcopal vicar in Ráckeve stating that he was a member of his parish, and he had to produce witnesses to attest to his being unmarried³⁶ (Pl. 4).

The Greeks listed below took the loyalty oath in the *Jászkunság* till 1781:
 6th December 1773 Turkeve: Demetrius Szücs, Karcag: Stephanus Pap,
 Madaras: Antonius Pap, Kunszentmárton: Stephanus Kálló
 7th December 1773 Kiskunfélegyháza: Demetrius László
 14th January 1774 Kiskunfélegyháza: Demetrius Pál, Joannes Marko
 14th December 1774 Kisujszállás: Stephanus Daróczi
 28th December 1774 Jászapáti: Stephanus Kiss
 28th January 1776 Szabadszállás: Georgius Tamásy
 1st December 1776 Kunszentmiklós: Georgius Zabira
 3rd April 1778 Kiskunhalas: Georgius Jánosi
 8th May 1780 Kiskunfélegyháza: Nicolaus Pap

In 1781 (without further details) Jászberény: Antonius Kristof, Stepanus Kristof, Árokszállás: Joannes Juhász, Kunszentmárton: Pap Demeter, Constans Haris, Kunhegyes: Mathias Demeter, Kisujszállás: Demetrius Daróczy, Christophorus Demeter, Karcag: Michael Velko, Szabadszállás: Christophorus Koszta, Madaras: Stephanus Illés³⁷.

The list reveals that, unlike other parts of the country, the immigration of the Greeks to the *Jászkunság* did not come to an end in 1774-5. They arrived here and swore the loyalty oath thereafter as well, a fact which must have been connected with their favourable reception. In 1792, for example, the oaths of eight merchants were reported to the Council of the Governor-General³⁸.

35. Ödön Füves, "Zavírász irodalomtörténeti művének kézirataihoz", in *Antik Tanulmányok*, 5(1958).

36. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. D Capsa, IX. Fasc. 4, No 5.

37. *Ibid.*

38. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. Fasc. 8, No 165/1793.

Four of them settled in Karcag, two in Jászberény, one in Halas, and one in Kiskunfélegyháza. Demetrius Hádzi, otherwise known as Dimitri Dullo, took the oath of loyalty in Kunszentmárton in 1795. Among his papers are his travel documents and the paper testifying his taking the oath. The text of the oath was written in Hungarian on the basis of the standard formula. The other merchants in the *Jászkunság* took the oath using similar wording³⁹ (Pl. 5).

The list containing the names of merchants who had taken the oath is not as detailed as the census of 1769. Besides the name and the residence, it gives the place of origin, the description of the person, and his marital status. The place of origin of all the merchants but one is Macedonia. The marital status had changed considerably since 1769. Twenty-one merchants out of the forty-four having taken the oath till November 1773, had wives of Hungarian origin. The growing number of family connections between the Greeks and the local residents helped the gradual Magyarization of the Greeks and their integration with the life of the *Jászkunság*.

Returning home or settling down permanently

The royal decree of 1774 forced the merchants to decide between returning home for ever or taking an oath of loyalty to the empire. We have seen that many of the *Jászkunság* merchants had taken the oath of loyalty before. Those who did not want to settle here were compelled to sell their goods and return home. Doreán Miklós, a merchant in Karcag, sold his shop and stock to his partner, Pap István, who had taken the loyalty oath, and he himself returned home⁴⁰.

It frequently happened that one member of the family living here took the oath and the others went home. In Turkeve the three Szücs brothers came to the arrangement that Tamás and Pál should hand over all the stock of their two shops in Turkeve to their brother Demeter, who undertook to settle here, and who would also collect the money owed to them by various local debtors. In Kunszentmárton Kálló Demeter gave his stock, worth 5500 forints, his house, and his other possessions to his brother Kálló István, who had sworn the oath, and he left the country for good⁴¹.

We may suppose that in the cases mentioned above not only were family

39. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. Fasc. 8, No 2268.

40. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. D Capsa, VI. Fasc. 4, No 24 1/2.

41. *Ibid.*

connections maintained, but the businesslike merchants made use of the favourable possibilities for making contracts and transporting goods between the two countries.

The existing contracts are important sources for assessing the financial situation of the Greeks. They are all the more important because we do not have any comprehensive registration of the Greeks' wealth.

Doreán Miklós transferred stock worth 3376 forints to his partner in Karcag in Turkeve. The value of the goods owned by the Szűcs family mentioned above was 4406 forints. The wares and personal effects of Daróczi János, István, and György, who lived in Kisujszállás, were worth 6426 forints. Kálló Demeter transferred to his brother his house in Kunszentmárton and his stock, the value of which was estimated at 5500 forints. The above-mentioned sums may be considered quite large, especially when compared to goods owned by the Greeks living in the neighbouring villages. Fifty-eight per cent of the Balkan residents of Arad County had stock worth less than 100 forints and 68% of the traders in Bács County owned goods worth less than 500 forints. Even the property of the more well-to-do 30.5% of merchants in Békés County can be estimated at only between 1000 and 3000 forints⁴².

More detailed data concerning the financial status of the *Jászkunság* merchants may be found in the documents of towns and villages, primarily in wills and inventories of estate. The testament of Andreas Kristóf, for example, made in 1781, involves 8600 forints⁴³. The name of Andreas Kristóf had already appeared in the census of 1754. In 1773 he took the loyalty oath in Jászberény, and he made his will there too. The will not only reveals his financial circumstances, but contains several interesting items of information. The fact that he first of all left money to the Catholic church, its chapels, and the Franciscan friars tells us that there was no religious conflict between the local residents and the Greeks. On the other hand, the legacies mentioned in the will make it clear that for the Greeks living in foreign countries their own religion was very important and expressed their loyalty to their motherland. As there were no Orthodox churches in the *Jászkunság*, Andreas Kristóf bequeathed various sums to almost all of the Greek churches — "our churches" as he called them — in other parts of the country, in Pest, Ráckeve, Eger, Komárom, Esztergom, Győr, Buda, Kecskemét. As well as to his relatives, he left money to the poor and for the expense of his own funeral. The remaining money and other properties were equally divided between his two sons. The

42. Bur, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

43. SZML Jászberény város iratai. Végrendeletek 1759-1848. Csepel 25, Fasc. 10, No 104

testament of Demeter Kyro made in 1807 contains a varied list of heirs⁴⁴ (Pl. 6).

Even the royal edict of 1774 could not solve the "Greek question". In April 1775, another edict issued by the Council of the Governor-General arrived in the *Jászkunság*. On the basis of it, István Illéssy, the governor (capitanus) of Great Cumania started an investigation into the following matters:

- Were there any merchants in business who had not sworn the oath of loyalty?
- Why had those merchants not willing to take the oath not returned to their own country?
- What were the conditions under which the remaining merchants took over the goods of their departing partners?

At the same time, the governor ordered that a list be made of the Greeks who had not taken the oath, and another of those who, though they had taken the oath, had failed to bring their families after them. Finally, those who had not taken the oath were forbidden to engage in any trading activity⁴⁵.

The answers given to these questions proved again the goodwill of the local residents towards the Greeks. Most places reported that all the merchants there had sworn the oath. In the few cases of those who had not, the judge and the council of the town officially confirmed that they did not sell forbidden goods. The question of why those who had not sworn the oath had not returned home usually received the answer that they had not been able to recover the money they had lent to the inhabitants. The town council of Kisujszállás, for example, reported that the last three years had been very difficult and the inhabitants had too little money to pay back their debts⁴⁶. The town of Karcag had only one merchant who was still in the town in spite of the fact that he had not taken the oath. He had not been able to recover the money he had lent, and bad health had delayed his journey as well. He promised, however, to return home for good in the near future⁴⁷.

By this time the question of the Greeks had been settled in other areas of the country. The archives of the *Jászkun Kerület* did not contain similar edicts in later times, though there is evidence of frequent censuses. An investigation of them may show the changes in the Greeks' numbers and the process

44. SZML Jászkun Kerület polgári perek. 21, füzet, 1, kötet, 62, sz.

45. SZML Turkeve iratai. Protocollum Currentalium 1771-1779, pp. 253-4.

46. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. D Capsa VI. Fasc. 4, No 24 1/2.

47. *Ibid.*

of their assimilation, though their using varying forms of their names may cause problems.

Letters of recommendation are another source of important information. They were written by the councils, when a merchant was to move into another town. Among the papers of Pap Demeter there are two such letters. One of them was written by the judge and council of Törökszentmiklós, when the merchant left the town in 1774. The letter states that he had worked in the town for seven years and had proved to be a "good and honest" man (Pl. 7).

Pap Demeter moved to Kunszentmárton from Törökszentmiklós, and in 1780, when he left this town too, the judge and the council attested to his reliability in a similar letter. They put down that "Pap Demeter, shop assistant, has always behaved honestly and soundly, and we commend him to the goodwill of whatever tradesman he meets"⁴⁸.

The Greeks who had settled in the *Jászkunság* did not only follow trading activity. They very often rented shops, inns, and lodging houses. The towns in the *Kerület* had the privilege of setting up inns and meat-houses, and they gladly gave these profitable activities over to the enterprising Greeks. They themselves preferred the more traditional activity of farming and stock-breeding and very often they would not have had enough money to pay the rent. The minute-book of Karcag refers to the fact that Görög János rented a shop in the town as early as 1738⁴⁹. There survives the contract between the town and Dorian Görög Miklós from 1751, who rented shops in Karcag. For them he was to pay ninety forints in cash, two wads of paper, two pounds of pepper, twelve pounds of rice, two rolls of aba cloth, eight halters, and two quintals of salt annually⁵⁰. His activity must have won the satisfaction of the inhabitants, as the lease-contract was extended for several years.

One of the parties in most of the lease-contracts made in 1773 was Greek⁵¹ (Pl. 8). Besides shops, inns, and meat-houses, they also rented brew-houses and lodging-houses. The contracts were usually made for three years in the presence of the local councils. The shops were rented for between thirty and three hundred forints, while the rent for inns and meat-houses could be a thousand forints. At first, the Greeks were only tenants, later they had houses, shops, and inns built for themselves. Görög János had a shop built for him-

48. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratok. D. Capsa XIV. Fasc. 11, No 1.

49. SZML Karcag város protocolluma 1736-1752, p. 30.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

51. SZML Jászkun Kerület közigazgatási iratai. D. Capsa IV. Fasc. 2, No 28.

self in Karcag as early as 1748⁵². The Greeks were not hindered in acquiring property in the *Jászkunság*, indeed the inhabitants very often helped them. In 1772 the town of Jászberény had a house built for the merchants⁵³. The council of Kisujszállás gave financial help for building two Greek shops⁵⁴. The tendency was strengthened by the 1790 edict of Leopold II (1790-2), which made it possible for the Greeks to acquire property and to hold offices. The same decree provided the free practice of their religion⁵⁵. Under the influence of the decree, a Greek Orthodox church of outstanding beauty had been erected by 1794 in Karcag. The money for it was raised from the endowments of the Greeks living in the neighbourhood⁵⁶.

By the end of the eighteenth century, all the important places in the *Jászkunság* had Greek merchants among their inhabitants, and they became honoured members of the community on the basis of their work. The census shows us the pattern of how the Greek merchants were scattered in the Kerület up to 1781:

<i>Name of town</i>	<i>No of Greek inhabitants</i>
Fülöpszállás	1
Jászapáti	4
Jászárokszállás	2
Fényszaru	1
Jászberény	14
Jászládány	1
Karcag	4
Kiskunfélegyháza	7
Halas	3
Lacháza	1
Majsa	1
Kisujszállás	6
Kunhegyes	2
Kunszentmárton	6
Madaras	4
Szabadszállás	6
Turkeve	1
Sum total	68

52. SZML Karcag város protocolluma 1736-1752, p. 182.

53. Ferenc Fodor, *A Jászság életrajza*, Budapest, 1942, p. 203.

54. SZML Kisujszállás városi iratai. G Capsa, Fasc. 3, No 32/1792.

55. *Magyar Törvénytár 1740-1835*, ed. Dezső Márkus, Budapest, 1901, Lipót 1790, évi dekretuma, 27. cikkely.

56. Concerning the building of the church: Márta Nagy, *Görögök a Jászkunságban*,

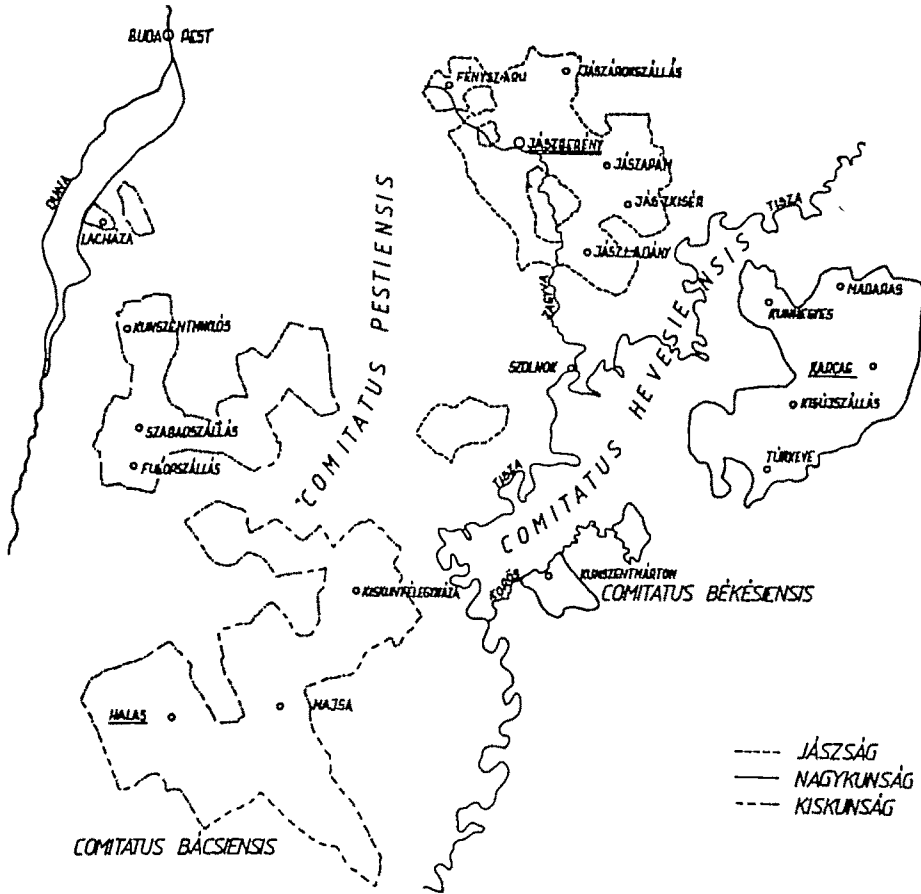
Conclusion

In this paper we have dealt only with some aspects of the Greeks' presence and activity. The documents under investigation unanimously show that the local residents of the *Jászkuság* needed the trading activity of the Greeks, whose presence was profitable for both parties. The commercial and financial activity of the well-to-do and business-orientated Greeks very well complemented the farming and animal husbandry practised by the Jazygo-Cumanians. They often helped the needy with credits and loans for several years. There are no traces of any economic or religious conflicts; the Greeks never had problems with practising their Orthodox religion, so different from that of the Catholic and Calvinist inhabitants. Their favourable reception is proved by the fact that the Greek merchants continually arrived and settled in the *Kerület* even after the decree concerning the loyalty oath.

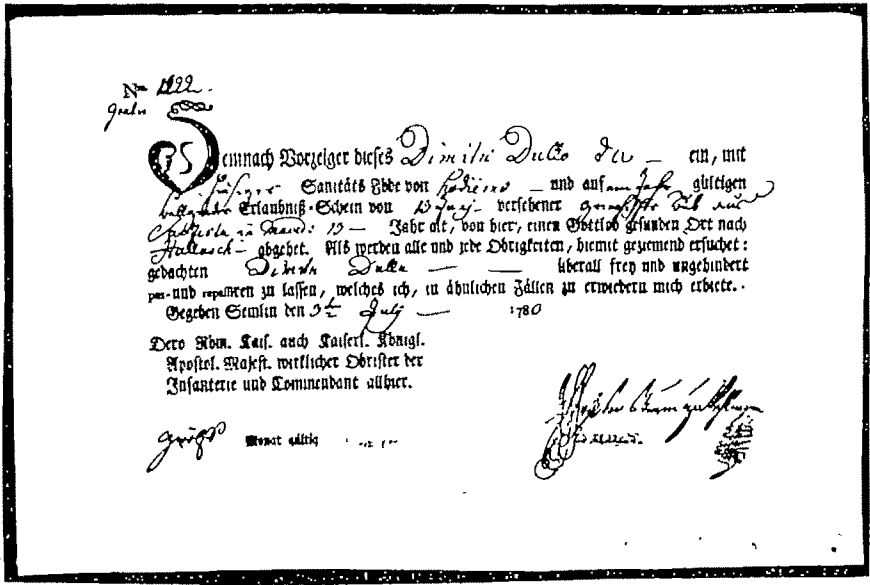
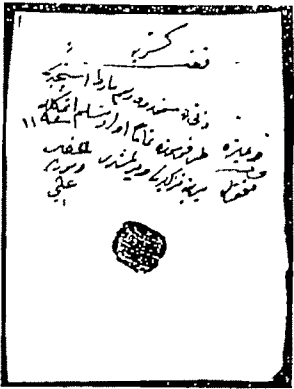
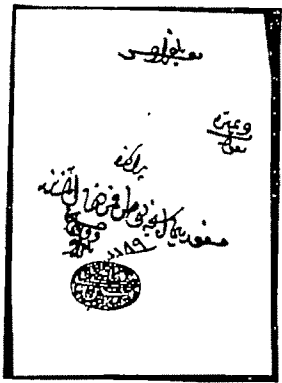
The many archival documents of the Jászkun Kerület, the papers of the towns and villages (minute-books, inventories of estate, wills, litigation papers) may give much information for further research. They may help research aiming to reveal the role of the Greek merchants in the economic life of Hungary and to show the process of their adaptation to Hungarian circumstances.

Archives of Szolnok County

(Translated by: KLÁRA KOLTAY)



Pl. 1. Towns and villages with Greek inhabitants in the Jászkunság at the end of the eighteenth century. (Drawn by Mihály Szikszai).



Pl. 2. From the travel documents of Dimitri Dullo (Hadzi Demeter).

1773. Júl. 25. Jany. Az Főlegos Consulumnak Invenziója szerint
az Főlegosnak Kalmár Pörögnek találtatott Török Orrági Lov-
tárházban inventáltakat.

Főlegos		L	25.
1 ^o	Főlegos Pörögnek találtatott vörös, kék, és fehér pamuk 15. H. 25. -	30	-
	Jem 9. H. fehér pamuk a H. 30. -	4.30	-
	Jem 9. H. fehér pamuk a H. 30. -	7.05	-
	Jem 30. H. vörös kék a H. 12. -	0.	-
	Jem 10. H. kék pamuk a H. 12. -	2	-
	Summa.	49	35
2 ^o	Kossány Mihály Pörögnek találtatott 22. Főlegos, kék pamuk 12. -	44	-
	Jem 7. H. fehér pamuk a H. 25. -	9.55	-
	Jem 20. H. fehér pamuk a H. 18. -	8	-
	Jem 40. H. fehér pamuk a H. 12. -	8	-
	Jem 5. H. fehér pamuk a H. 33. -	2.45	-
	Jem 4. H. vörös pamuk a H. 25. -	5.40	-
	Jem 10. H. kék pamuk a H. 12. -	2	-
	Jem 22. H. vörös kék a H. 13. -	4.40	-
	Jem 2. H. vörös kék a H. 12. -	24	-
	Summa.	107	00
3 ^o	László Jánosnak találtatott 4. vörös pamuk a H. 25. -	5.40	-
	Jem 53. H. vörös, és fehér pamuk a H. 2. -	100	-
	Jem 3. H. fehér pamuk a H. 33. -	1.39	-
	Jem 45. H. fehér pamuk a H. 12. -	9	-
	Jem 7. H. vörös kék a H. 12. -	1.24	-
	Summa.	122	43
4 ^o	Mészáros Jánosnak találtatott 7. vörös pamuk a H. 25. -	9.55	-
	Jem 40. H. fehér pamuk a H. 11. -	7.20	-
	Jem 9. H. fehér pamuk a H. 33. -	4.57	-
	Jem 2. H. fehér pamuk a H. 18. -	2.30	-
	Jem 15. H. kék pamuk a H. 12. -	3	-
	Jem 54. H. vörös kék a H. 12. -	10	-
	Jem 32. H. vörös, és kék pamuk a H. 2. -	08	-
	Summa.	103	42
Halt			
1 ^o	Kassa János Pörögnek találtatott vörös, kék, és fehér pamuk, szelvény, kassony, janty, paplony, és más tárgyak, melyek az őtől -	80	-
2 ^o	Pörög Pörögnek Török Orrági Pörögnek találtatott -	22	-
3 ^o	Tamás Pörögnek találtatott -	110	-
	Summa.	212	-

Pl. 3. Inventory of Kiskunság shops in 1773.



raesentium pex vigorem attestor, & quibus expedit uni-
verso fidem facio quod Georgius Labira Gracikius
quatuor de Monopola pro tunc in possessione Cumana
hunc sunt mille, Districtus Minoris Cumania mguemata,
a novem & quod excurrit, Coloca vero octo annorum
intervallo degens, eos eoque semper Ecclesiam hanc ro-
stram Gracikius Razkviensem, Diebus appropinque felis
horum, accurrendo frequentans, tam Publica omnium na-
torietate, quam vero fide digno, nonnullorum hujus
quatuor, ac respective Pontionarij Georgij Labira
Compopulationum, ut-pote Stephani Bap, grahamis, De Nicola
Theodori Rupy, adeoque de omni genera ejus sorte & for-
tuna, optime referre queuntium in merque Pontiam acco-
litorum, ac interrogatorum Testimonio, usque Pontionis
Calebs vixerit, & audiverit, pro talique Relatus & Com-
pextus extiterit. Signatum in Oppido Camerali
Razkve, Die. Anno 1776
3 Augusti.

Isaias Novakovicz
Monasterii Razkviensis
Vicararius Gracikius

Quod prescriptus Reverendus Dominus
Isaias Novakovicz Monasterii Razkviensis
Presbyterorum Prae non timidi Tituli
Propositi Sede vacante omnino &
carius & Oppidanorum suorum Ca-
torum sit, in qua Dominationi
qua tali in expedientis Officiis
suis plena fides adhibenda sit in
superiore fidei Pontis testimonio
um Subscripsi & Sigillari in Regni
Camerali Oppido Razkve 1776
Augusti.



Carolus Razkviensis
Cameralis Prae



Pl. 4. The certificate of Zavírász György required for the oath of loyalty.

1795. die 12^a m^o Coram Sede Austriæ Criminalium Verisimili in
Provincia Rumanicali, per Marton Celebrata

Demetrius Hadzi, Europæi Pauci Kunsztmárton,
upreveli Parlamentum adhibitis deponit in hoc Verba.

Én Hadzi Demetrius esküöm az egy élt Istenre, ki
egy álatyálan, katon sanyalgyálan áll, és, a per eset
felbeszt. Alakompag egy sanyalgyálan, Boldogapost, per
Márton, és, Peremest Márton sanyalgyálan. Egy en, minél.
uramra Magyaras a felbeszt. Alakompag Márton egy
örök sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan egy sanyalgyálan Márton
katon a sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan, a sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan
ke sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan
a sanyalgyálan Márton sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan
sanyalgyálan Magyaras, a Magyaras sanyalgyálan a sanyalgyálan
sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan
katon, sanyalgyálan egy kis sanyalgyálan Magyaras sanyalgyálan
a sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan, a sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan a sanyalgyálan
sanyalgyálan. Egy en, sanyalgyálan a sanyalgyálan a sanyalgyálan

Descriptio Personæ

Demetrius Hadzi, natus in Opido Macedonia viciis Castelli,
aetatis 28. indolis est sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan,
sanyalgyálan, a sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan, sanyalgyálan
Longa, a sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan.

per sanyalgyálan
per sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan
per sanyalgyálan sanyalgyálan

Pl. 5. The Hungarian text of the oath taken by the Kunszentmárton merchant, Hadzi Demeter,
in 1795.

- 19: Δυναμία αγοράς τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-
 20: γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-
 21: γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-
 22: γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-
 23: γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-
 24: γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-
 25: γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-
 26: ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-

Ἰδὲ γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-

Ἰδὲ γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-

Ἰδὲ γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-

Ἰδὲ γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-

Ἰδὲ γινώσκων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποκαταστάσεων ἀπὸ τῶν - 100x-

Pl. 6. The testament of Demeter Kyro, made in 1807.

* nem,
 A Török Szent Miklós Parossina Elnök
 Hírnökök felelője, nyújtott László, Áron, több
 Híres Testimoniai egyike által tudatva mindenek
 nek a hírnev illik ezen Testimonialis Levelünk
 nek rendiben. Hogy a előre der esztendőket az
 jók jöve Pap Demeter Pécsi városi Sugyan
 azon esztendőre alete Helységünk lakosa keresztelők
 met Polgáraitban levan, melyek is vitézségek
 véghez vitt, most muga lakosok valóságosan
 hogy jó és igaz ember legyen, másodszor bor
 rangadása, sőt mindnyájunknak öröme és
 bna fide attestalljuk. Itt is minden igaz fe
 rettel fénylő keresztelőkkel recommendáltuk.
 Melyek nagyobb és allandóbb erősege az,
 jó ezen városunk élők perséjével meg erősít
 reket Levelünk. Ezt Török Szent Miklós Die
 24^{te} Jól 1774.

A Török Szent Miklós Parossina
 Elnök felelője László Áron

Pl. 7. The letter of recommendation given to Pap Demeter, merchant, by the town of Török-szentmiklós.

Handwritten signature No. 412

A. - E. N. TACHIAOS

THE NATIONAL REGENERATION OF THE GREEKS AS SEEN BY THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

In this article I intend to examine not Tsarist Russia's attitude to the Greek War of Independence of 1821¹, but a phenomenon of rather greater historical moment and duration: the "national regeneration" of the Greeks, by which I mean the restoration of the Greek people's free political life, the establishment of a free state, and the development of a new cultural life within the framework of this state. Needless to say, this renaissance was a lengthy process, beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century or earlier and lasting almost until the final decades of the nineteenth century, by which time the life of the newly established state had stabilised both politically and culturally. Apart from the intentions and plans of Tsarist Russia's capital, St Petersburg, to rouse the Greeks to cast off the Turkish yoke, and apart from any coldly calculated ulterior imperialist motives on Russia's part, there were also the reactions of individuals or isolated groups in Russia, who, whether or not they had anything to do with their country's foreign policy, nonetheless exhibited that freedom of thought, action, and criticism which inward speculation and an endeavour to make a free and impartial assessment of the prevailing historical situation has always granted to intellectuals all over the world. I shall discuss a number of such cases, and the general title will embrace

1. There is a considerable body of literature relating to Russia's political connection with the Greek War of Independence, chiefly in the Russian language. One fundamental work is G. L. Arsh's, *Eteristskoe dylzhenie v Rossii: Osvoboditel'naja bor'ba grecheskogo naroda v nachale XIX v. i russko-grecheskie svyazi* (Moscow, 1970). More recent writings are mentioned in K. Papoulidis's article, «Ἡ Ρωσία καὶ ἡ ἑλληνικὴ Ἐπανάσταση τοῦ 1821-1822: Μὲ ἀφορμὴ τὴν πρόσφατη δημοσίευση ἐγγράφων ἀπὸ τὰ ἀρχεῖα τῆς ἐξωτερικῆς πολιτικῆς τῆς Ρωσίας», which was first published in *Βαλκανικά Σύμμεικτα*, 2 (1983), 185-203, and republished in the author's collected studies titled *Ἑλληνορωσικά: Συλλογὴ μελετῶν ἑλληνορωσικῶν θεμάτων παιδείας καὶ πολιτισμοῦ τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς καὶ νεότερης ἐποχῆς* (Thessaloniki, 1988), pp. 79-91. Papoulidis lists all the known literature, including studies by Greek scholars and Greek translations of Russian works. Cf. also T. Prousis, "Russian Philorthodox Relief during the Greek War of Independence", *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 1 (1985), 31-63.

several individual subjects, which, though they may for the moment seem unconnected with each other, do in fact share a common aspect — the Russian intellectual's attitude towards the creation of a free Greek state.

First of all, we must clearly understand one fundamental point relating to the Russian world's attitude to the Greeks' political independence. Russia was a great power at the time, and linked to the unredeemed Greeks by one common factor. This was Orthodoxy. The Western world viewed the Fall of Constantinople and the end of the Byzantine Empire from the point of view of its own political and religious expediency. The Eastern empire had been alienated from it for centuries, and the theocratic Western societies regarded the Easterners as schismatics, cut off from Rome, the greatest religious centre of the West. As soon as the Turkish conquest in Asia Minor started to weaken the Byzantine Empire, the Western states returned with renewed vigour to their conquering policy, which had first seen the light ages before under the pretext of the Crusades. Thus, by the time the Turkish conquest was complete, much of Greek territory was already in Western hands. Each and every offer to help save Constantinople from the Turks was backed by an ulterior political or religious motive of the Western world, which for the most part was quite indifferent to whether or not the Orthodox Christian Greeks came under the Islamic yoke. After the Fall, the Western powers policy opposed any effort to re-establish the Byzantine Empire, for in Byzantium's resurrection they clearly foresaw a powerful economic and political rival in the East, and generally a restraining force upon their own political power in the East Mediterranean.

Russia, however, presented a rather different picture, though it was not without ulterior motives of its own. The Russians had received Christianity from the Byzantines and remained linked to them for centuries under the spiritual leadership of the Patriarch of Constantinople². From the beginning of the eleventh century onwards, all hostilities between Russians and Byzantines ceased. Until the eighteenth century, Russia showed no substantial interest in extending its influence to the Middle East. Byzantium, despite all the criticism voiced in Russia, remained its spiritual teacher. The Fall of Constantinople came at a time when the great Principality of Moscow was waxing strong. When news of the Fall reached Moscow, the Russians' com-

2. From its conversion to Christianity in 988 until 1433, Russia was a metropolitanate of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. See J. Meyendorff, *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 73-95.

mon consciousness was well prepared to receive it in the context of a mystical interpretation and messianic revelation of history. The Westerners regarded the destruction of the Hellenic Empire as a consequence of the Greeks' refusal to unite with Rome and thereby ensure the military support of the West³. The Russians interpretation of the same event was exactly the opposite. According to the view which had been fostered in Russia, Constantinople had fallen precisely because the Greek Church had signed the union with Rome in 1439. Byzantium had thus fallen into heresy, and the Fall had come as divine retribution⁴. It was this conviction, together with other historical circumstances, which brought forth the theory of the Third Rome: namely that after ancient Rome had fallen into heresy, followed by the Second Rome, Constantinople, there was only Moscow left in the world to defend Orthodoxy and Eastern Christianity⁵.

During the sixteenth century, Russia evolved into a great political and military power, with a strong awareness of its own supremacy and authority. Nonetheless, the Greek world continued to occupy an important place in the Russian consciousness, and never more so than when, from the mid-sixteenth to almost the end of the seventeenth century, the by now independent Russian Orthodox Church endured considerable intervention by the Patriarchate of Constantinople and other Eastern patriarchates⁶. Though its political force was spent, Byzantium was still a spiritual empire, at the very pinnacle of which sat the Patriarch of Constantinople, the only authority capable of being the

3. Cf. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 160-80. How deeply rooted in the Western Roman Catholic consciousness is the conviction that the Orthodox Church's refusal to unite with Rome brought about the historical necessity of its subjugation by the Turks was made clear in 1956, when, after the Turkish atrocities against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Greeks in Constantinople, Pope Pius XII made statements which clearly implied that the Greeks' fate would have been different had they remained united with Rome.

4. See E. E. Golubinskii, *Istoriia russkoj Cerkvi*, vol. II, 1 (Moscow, 1900), pp. 508-13. Cf. G. Papamichael, *Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός, ὁ πρῶτος φωτιστής τῶν Ρώμων* (Athens, 1950), pp. 273-86.

5. Concerning the theory of the Third Rome, see H. Schaefer's fundamental work, *Moskau das dritte Rom: Studien zur Geschichte der politischen Theorien in der slawischen Welt* (Darmstadt, 1956). Cf. W. K. Medlin, *Moscow and East Rome: A Political Study of the Relations of Church and State in Muscovite Russia* (Geneva, 1952); *Roma, Constantinopoli-Mosca, Da Roma alla Terza Roma: Documenti e Studi*, Studi I, Seminario 21 Aprile 1981 (Naples, 1983); Papamichael, *Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός*, 286-301.

6. See N. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh* (Sergiev Posad, 1914). Cf. C. Papadopoulos, *Oi patriarkhai 'Iεροσολύμων ὡς πνευματικοὶ χειραγῶντοί τῆς Ρωσίας κατὰ τὸν ἱε' αἰῶνα* (Jerusalem, 1907).

determining factor in the re-establishment of the subjugated Empire. This was because the Patriarch's extensive spiritual jurisdiction could, at a given moment in history, be transmuted into political jurisdiction and transferred to some other instrument of power. Empress Catherine II was intelligent enough to realise this, when, to further her plans to overthrow the Ottoman Empire, she began to make use of such eminent Greek clerics as Patriarch Seraphim II of Constantinople, Evgenios Voulgaris, and Nikiforos Theotokis⁷.

Catherine's interest and her plans for the Ottoman Empire fuelled the legends and prophecies in the Greek East about the Greeks' liberation at the hands of the "fair race", i.e. the Russians⁸. Needless to say, neither the Greek nor the Russian masses had a very clear idea about the more remote consequences of Russian intervention, nor yet whether Constantinople, which was the focus of all these dreams, would eventually come under Russian or Greek power. An ardent desire for deliverance, a lively enthusiasm, and an impatience for the moment of liberation left little room for considerations relating to the distant future. The essential thing was that the enslaved Nation should rise up. The eighteenth century ran red with the blood of Greek neomartyrs⁹, who laid down their lives in their refusal to accept Islam. But this

7. See A.E. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία του νέου Ελληνισμού*, vol. IV (Thessaloniki, 1973), pp. 457-64; S.-T. Batalden, *Catherine II's Greek Prelate: Eugenios Voulgaris in Russia 1771-1806* (New York, 1982), incl. bibliography.

8. In the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books of prophecies (χρησιμολόγια) the "fair race" seems to have been identified with the Latins, and only later come to designate the Russians. See M. Laskaris, *Τὸ Ἀνατολικὸν Ζήτημα. 1800-1923* (Thessaloniki, 1948), pp. 233-6. Cf. Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία*, IV, 269-75. Concerning oracles and prophecies relating to the liberation of Constantinople and the re-establishment of Byzantium, see V. Corovich, "Eine Prophezeiung über den Untergang des türkischen Reiches aus dem XVIII Jahrhundert", *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXX (1909), 312-13; G. I. Zaviras, *Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ θέατρον πολιτικόν* (Athens, 1972), pp. 390-2; G. T. Zoras, «Δύο προφητεῖαι περὶ ἀπελευθερώσεως τοῦ Βυζαντίου», *Byzantion*, XXXIII (1963), 473-82; D. Dolkos, «Ὁ Ἀγαθάγγελος φς προφητικὸν ἀποκαλυπτικὸν ἔργον καὶ τὸ μήνυμά του», *Μνήμη 1821: Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς τὴν ἐθνικὴν παλιγγενεσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ 150ῇ ἐπετείῳ*, University of Thessaloniki, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς*, Appendix No 9 of vol. XVI (Thessaloniki, 1971), pp. 7-61, 93-126; V. Mutafchieva, "Predskazaniyata" za kraja na Osmanskata imperija (kam vāprosa za rusko-balkanskite kulturni vāzrzi prez XIX vek)", *Studia Balcanica*, 8 (1974), 109-16; and A. Argyriou's seminal work, *Les Exégèses grecques de l'Apocalypse à l'époque turque (1453-1821)* (Thessaloniki, 1981).

9. A great deal has been written about the neomartyrs, and in recent years scholars' interest in discovering and studying further neomartyrs has increased considerably. The basic source remains Nicodemus the Hagiorite's, *Νέον μαρτυρολόγιον, ἥτοι μαρτυρία τῶν νεοφανῶν μαρτύρων τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατὰ διαφόρους καιροὺς καὶ τόπους μαρτυρησάντων*. The first edition was published in Venice in 1799; the

sacrificial attitude gradually began to give way to a more fighting spirit; no longer passive resistance to the tyrant's oppression, but a struggle for the resurrection of the Nation¹⁰.

This shift is evident in the little-known martyrdom of a young man named Anastasios from Delvino in northern Epirus¹¹, who was put to death in 1756 for his Christian faith. The account of his martyrdom is followed by that of a very interesting and touching vision. Regrettably, nothing at all has been written about this neomartyr (who must not be confused with Anastasios of Ioannina, who was martyred in 1743)¹²; an account of his martyrdom does exist in Greek Athonite manuscripts, but it has never been investigated nor has a critical study of it ever been undertaken¹³. The story goes as follows. The Turks of Delvino tried to convert the young Anastasios to Islam, but failed. They then carried lies about him to the Turkish official of the region, who ordered his execution. The official's son, a close friend of Anastasios, was present at the execution, which so stirred his soul that he repaired to the monastery where Anastasios had been buried and was baptised there, taking the name of Daniel. From the monastery, he then went to Corfu, intending to sail to Constantinople, present himself to the Grand Vizier, and announce his conversion, in the hope of being martyred himself, as his friend had been at the hands of his father. Once arrived in Constantinople, he met a spiritual elder, to whom he confessed his intentions. But instead of encouraging him, the elder counselled him to retire to a monastic cell and remain there at prayer

second in Athens in 1856; and the third, again in Athens, in 1961. A new, voluminous publication comprises the martyrologies of Nicodemus, Macarius Notaras, Nicephore of Chios, and Athanasius Parios: *Συναξαριστής νεομαρτύρων*, edited by A. Margaritis, second edition (Thessaloniki, 1989). Cf. S. Solov'ev, *Xristianskie mucheniki, postradavshie na vostoke* (St Petersburg, 1862); I. I. Sokolov, *Konstantinopolskaja Cerkov v XIX veke* (St Petersburg, 1904), pp. 48-56; I. Perantonis, *Λεξικὸν τῶν νεομαρτύρων*, 3 vols (Athens, 1972); I. Anastasiou, «Σχεδιάσμα περὶ τῶν νεομαρτύρων», *Μνήμη 1821*, 9-61 and *Πρακτικὰ Θεολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου εἰς τιμὴν καὶ μνήμην τῶν Νεομαρτύρων (17-19 Νοεμβρίου 1986)*, published by the Metropolis of Thessaloniki (Thessaloniki, 1988).

10. Cf. Vacalopoulos, *Ἱστορία*, IV, 734-43.

11. Concerning this small northern Epirot town, which was a flourishing spiritual centre during the period of Turkish domination, see V. Baras, *Τὸ Δέλβινο τῆς βορείου Ἠπείρου καὶ οἱ γειτονικὲς του περιοχὲς*, with a foreword by the book's editor, L. I. Vranousis (Athens, 1966). It is surprising that such an exhaustive study should completely ignore Anastasios the neomartyr.

12. Concerning the neomartyr Anastasios of Ioannina, see Nicodemus the Hagiorite, *Νέον μαρτυρολόγιον* (1961 ed.), 131-2.

13. In the manuscripts, which are listed in the next note, Daniel's vision precedes Anastasios's martyrdom.

until God showed him what he should do. Daniel followed this advice, and three days later was vouchsafed a vision, which he recounts himself¹⁴. In the vision, his martyred friend Anastasios appeared to him, took him by the hand, and led him to a Turkish mosque, saying: "Do you see this mosque? Here once stood the Church of All Saints"¹⁵. The two friends entered the church, where they found the saints foregathered; and all went forth together in an unending procession to the Church of the Twelve Apostles¹⁶. Awaiting them there were the Twelve Apostles and Saints Constantine and Helen, holding the Cross in their hands. The procession went from there to the Fanar, where

14. The oldest known manuscript to preserve the vision seems to be MS No 5 in the private collection of the family of Georgios and Alexandros Grammatikos in Thessaloniki: it is a copy of an Athonite manuscript and is dated to 1821, the year the Greek War of Independence broke out. The title of the text is as follows: «Ὁπτασία τινὸς Δανιὴλ μοναχοῦ, ὁποῦ εἶδεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ 1764: νοεμβρίῳ 18» (The Vision of one Daniel, a monk, which he saw in Constantinople on 18 November in the year of Our Lord 1764); *incipit*: «Ἐγὼ ὁ ἐν μοναχοῖς ἐλάχιστος Δανιὴλ ἐνδιατριβῶν εἰς τοὺς Κορφοὺς χάριν τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ Σπυρίδωνος...» (I, the least of monks, Daniel, sojourning at Corfu, by the grace of the wonder-working Spyridon...); *desinit*: «...ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκον τὸ ψαλτήριον» (...they departed for the church and read aloud the Psalter). See also A. Sigalas, *Ἀπὸ τῆν πνευματικῆν ζωὴν τῶν ἐλληνικῶν κοινοτήτων τῆς Μακεδονίας*, vol. I. *Ἀρχαία καὶ βιβλιοθήκαι δυτικῆς Μακεδονίας* (Thessaloniki, 1939), p. 154; and p. 21 for a description of MS No 34 of the Municipal Library of Kozani, a miscellany, fols 1092-1102 of which contain precisely the same text. This codex is a compilation of a number of separate MSS, and unfortunately Sigalas does not date the part which contains the Vision. Indirect evidence suggests that this MS is later than the one belonging to the Grammatikos family. The Vision of Daniel is also preserved in the following Athonite MSS: i) No 115 (694) of Koutloumousiou Monastery, dated to the beginning of the nineteenth century (L. Politis, *Συμπληρωματικοὶ κατάλογοι χειρογράφων τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους* (Thessaloniki, 1973), p. 64); ii) No 85-4 of the year 1844 of the kyriakon of the Skete of St Anne (Gerasimos Mikragiannanitis, monk, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Κυριακοῦ τῆς κατὰ τὸ Ἁγίον Ὄρος τοῦ Ἁθῶ καὶ Μεγαλωνήμων Σκήτης τῆς Ἁγ. Θεομήτορος Ἀννης* (Athens, 1961), p. 220); iii) No 335 of Zografou Monastery, 18th c.; iv) No 581 of Grigoriou Monastery, 18th c.; containing only texts relating to the restoration of Byzantium; v) Nos 161, 204, and 281 of Panteleimon Monastery, all dating from the 19th c. The last of these MSS gives Daniel's previous name as Mousas, and says that he was a Pasha's son. See S. P. Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων* (Cambridge, 1885), vol. I, pp. 32, 49; vol. II, pp. 308, 328, 349. A version of the account of Anastasios's martyrdom, based on the MS of the Skete of St Anne, has been published in the *Συναξαριστὴς νεομαρτύρων*, pp. 158-63, but it completely omits the vision.

15. Concerning this church, see R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, part 1. *Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*, vol. III. *Les Eglises et les Monastères* (Paris, 1953), pp. 403-4.

16. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique*, III, 45-6.

it was joined by the Teacher of the Nation, Chrysanthos¹⁷.

At this point, the Great Martyr St George appeared and invited them all to come to his own church; so the procession began to move in the direction of the Church of St George. He, however, went ahead on his white steed and, before the procession arrived, seized a cudgel and drove out the Turks who were praying inside. The Turks gazed in terror upon the great martyr and the saintly procession with the Cross, and cried out: "Woe to us! The Greeks are come upon us, fly!" Oddly enough, the next place to be occupied by that heavenly host was not a Christian church, but the celebrated *Yeni Cami*¹⁸. And while they were inside the mosque, singing "Glory be to God in the highest", the voice of the muezzin was heard from the minaret, calling the faithful to prayer. St Constantine raised the Cross and down came the minaret, bringing the muezzin with it. The procession came eventually to the one place where one would naturally expect it to go, the Church of Hagia Sophia; and we now have the culmination of the Nation's dream. The church is bathed in a dazzling, celestial light, all the heavenly host are holding lighted white candles, the gold and the silver glitter, the holy icons rejoice, and in the place of the icon of the Blessed Virgin there stands a bright throne with the Mother of God herself seated upon it. All around the chancel screen are rows of empty thrones. Wondering what their purpose might be, Daniel asks his friend Anastasios, who replies: "Upon those thrones sat the Emperors and the Prelates of the great Councils. And they shall sit upon them again and there shall be more Councils". St Marcian then collects all the candles and places them around the Cross, which has been set up in the centre of the church. Suddenly the sanctuary doors open to reveal Christ himself clad in pontifical robes, and he approaches the pontifical throne accompanied by battalions of angels. The Divine Liturgy begins, conducted by James, the brother of Christ. The Epistle is read by the archdeacon Laurence and the Gospel by the proto-martyr Stephen. As soon as the Liturgy is over, the Blessed Virgin addresses

17. It is difficult to identify this "teacher of the Nation" with any of the known contemporary figures of this name. The eminent Patriarch of Alexandria, Chrysanthos Notaras, who was known to all the Greeks and a distinguished writer as well, died in 1731. It is unlikely that the vision would have referred to a figure from the past. There was a teacher named Chrysanthos in Constantinople in the first decades of the nineteenth century, but this was long after the vision.

18. This is the splendid mosque which stands in Eminonu Square in Constantinople. Its construction was begun in 1597 by the Sultana Sefiye and finished in 1660 by the Sultana Valide, mother of Mehmet IV. Here too was Mehmet IV's luxurious pavilion, in which, after his prayers, he would receive eminent figures of the day.

Christ, beseeching him to deliver the Nation. And Christ compassionately replies: "Since you intercede and pray so much for these ingrates, for the sake of your love and the prayers of my faithful servants I shall soon liberate them from their suffering under the Turks". After this Daniel approaches the Virgin and asks her blessing for his martyrdom for Christ. But she urges him to keep Christ's commandments and thus be sure that he will eventually receive the same victor's crown as if he had been martyred. And when he asks her permission to remain inside Hagia Sophia for the rest of his life to keep the oil-lamp burning, the Virgin again dissuades him, telling him that the lamp has been burning there for more than three hundred years. She does, however, urge him to go to the Metropolitan of Ptolemais, Dionysios¹⁹, tell him what he has seen and heard, and exhort him to proclaim it to Christians everywhere, that the people may hear and believe.

There are two points which particularly deserve our attention in this account: firstly, the proximity of the Nation's deliverance and the re-establishment of the Empire, with Constantinople as its centre and the Emperors restored there; secondly, a turning away from martyrdom in favour of an active struggle against the Turkish overlord. The story very soon came to the attention of Russian circles. A Russian manuscript from Simonov Monastery near Moscow²⁰ tells us who translated it into Russian and disseminated it in the Russian world. He was a most distinguished Russian monastic figure,

19. MS No 85-4 of the kyriakon of the Skete of St Anne contains the following note: «Περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Σωφρονίου, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Πτολεμαῖδος περὶ οὗ ἡ Θεοτόκος εἶπε τῷ Δαυνὶλ ἐξ Ἰσμηλιτῶν, ὅτι ἦν πιστὸς δοῦλος τοῦ Υἱοῦ μου» (Concerning Patriarch Sophronius, he is the [Metropolitan] of Ptolemais of whom the Blessed Virgin told Daniel of the Ismaelites that he is the faithful servant of my son): Gerasimos Mikragiannanitis, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων*, 220. The Patriarch of Constantinople, Sophronius II (1774-80) had indeed formerly been Metropolitan of Ptolemais (M. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί πίνακες* (Constantinople, 1890), pp. 664-6), but the name Dionysios complicates the identification.

20. See N. P. Popov, *Rukopisi Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj (Patriarshej) Biblioteki*, 2. *Sobranie rukopisej Moskovskogo Simonova monastyrja*, Chtenija v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom Universitete, 1910, No 2 (Moscow, 1910), pp. 80-4. Popov confuses this Anastasios with his namesake from Ioannina, who was martyred in Constantinople in 1743. The account of the martyrdom of St Anastasios of Delvino and the vision of Daniel is also to be found in the Slavonic MS No 292 of Hilandar Monastery, which was copied in 1816 by hieromonk Daniel of this Monastery. It is also found in an abridged form in MS No 719 of the same monastery: D. Bogdanović, *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa Manastira Hilandara* (Belgrade, 1978), pp. 127, 240. The martyrology of St Anastasios in Hilandar MS No 292 has been published by M. Matejić, "Hilandar Codex 292 (360): An Unusual Martyrologion", *Palaeobulgarica*, II/4 (1978), 24-47, though without sufficient historical commentary.

Paisy Velichkovskii²¹. Born in Poltava in 1722, Velichkovskii went at an early age to Wallachia, where he became a monk. He then spent eighteen years on Mount Athos. An ardent Philhellene, Velichkovskii conceived the ambitious plan of reviving Byzantine mysticism among the Slavs and the Romanians by translating anew the Byzantine mystic and ascetic writers. This he achieved to a large extent, at least as far as Russia and Romania were concerned; and left Mount Athos for Romania in 1764. During his years on the Holy Mountain, a close friendship had developed between Velichkovskii and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Seraphim II²², who had lost his throne in 1761 after the Turks had accused him of engaging in political relations with Russia. It is very likely that the former Patriarch himself passed on the story of Anastasios's martyrdom and Daniel's vision to Velichkovskii, for, like the neomartyr, Seraphim was a native of Delvino²³. Furthermore, he does indeed appear to have had connections with Russia, for he eventually escaped from Mount Athos on a ship in Orlov's fleet, which had sailed into the Aegean in 1772²⁴.

Velichkovskii himself translated the Greek text and handed it on to the Russian world²⁵. The dissemination of this text among the Russians was an event of particular importance. The prestige of Greek Orthodoxy had declined in Russian eyes after the Fall of Constantinople for two fundamental reasons: firstly, because Byzantium had agreed to sign the union with Rome in 1439; and secondly, because, as the Russians saw it, the centre of Orthodoxy, Con-

21. The Slavonic biographical sources for Velichkovskii have been published by A.-E. Tachiaos, *The Revival of Byzantine Mysticism among Slavs and Romanians in the XVIIIth Century: Texts Relating to the Life and Activity of Paisy Velichkovsky (1722-1794)* (Thessaloniki, 1986). The two basic biographical texts relating to Paisy have already been translated into English by J. M. E. Featherstone, *The Life of Paisij Velyckov'skyj*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, vol. IV, with an introduction by Anthony-Emil N. Tachiaos (Harvard University Press, 1989). Cf. A.-E. N. Tachiaos, *Ὁ Πατριός Βελιτσκόφσκι (1722-1794) καὶ ἡ δοκητικοφιλογικὴ σχολή του* (Thessaloniki, 1964), and a photocopy reprint done in 1984 by the Institute for Balkan Studies, No. 73, the introduction to which contains an updated bibliography.

22. Concerning Velichkovskii's relations with Patriarch Seraphim, see Tachiaos, *The Revival of Byzantine Mysticism*, 104, 106, 201, 203, 205-6.

23. Baras, *Τὸ Δέλβινο*, 49.

24. Gedeon, *Πατριαρχικοί πίνακες*, 649-53; C. Tzogas, «Νικόλαος Ζαρζούλης ὁ ἐκ Μετσόβου», *Μνήμη* 1821, 129-42; C. Papoulidis, "Le patriarche œcuménique Serapheim II et les Russes", *Balkan Studies*, 15 (1974), 288-97, incl. bibliography; S. Batalden, "A Further Note on Patriarch Serapheim II's Sojourn to Russia", *Balkan Studies*, 18 (1977), 409-11.

25. This is attested by the codex of Simonov Monastery, which states that it is a copy of an autograph by Velichkovskii; Popov, *Rukopisi*, 83.

stantinople, and more specifically Hagia Sophia, had been irrevocably defiled and desecrated when the Turks seized it²⁶. Daniel's vision, in which Christ appeared and forgave the Greeks and Himself officiated in Hagia Sophia, now fully restored in Russian eyes the authority and prestige of Greek Orthodoxy. Furthermore, the very fact of undergoing martyrdom for the Christian faith — an unknown phenomenon in eighteenth-century Russia — was a sign of Greek atonement and expiation. There is another point in this story which must not be missed, however. The intervention of the "fair race", the Russians — a very common motif in other prophecies of this time — plays no part whatsoever in the vision: the Greeks are left to struggle alone for the liberation of the Empire. And one final point: the neomartyr Anastasios declares that a Greek emperor will come and sit once more on the empty royal throne of Constantinople.

The mystical aspect of Daniel's vision was clearly accompanied by an element of realism, which was also a spur to dynamic action. The Russian public's interest in the Crescent's collapse was now well and truly aroused. In 1789, a prophecy by an Arab astrologer, Musta Ed'din, concerning the fall of the Turkish Empire was published in St Petersburg. The Greek War of Independence rekindled interest in prophecies of this sort. Soon they were being read not only by the common people but also by the better educated, for by 1828-9 they were being printed by the printing houses of the Imperial Theatre, the Imperial Medical and Surgical Association, and the University of Moscow²⁷. But, more than anyone else, it was the celebrated poet Alexandr Sergeevich Pushkin who conveyed the triumph of the Greek Uprising to the Russian people. The Greeks' uprising affected Pushkin profoundly. As soon as it was declared, he contacted Ypsilantis and asked to be allowed to enlist in the "Friendly Society" (Φιλική Εταιρεία) but unfortunately he was being watched by the Tsarist police and never managed to realise his dream of hastening to the aid of the rebelling Greeks of the Danube Principalities. Nothing daunted, Pushkin, now began to wonder anxiously what Russia, under Tsar Alexander I, intended to do for the unfortunate Greeks, as, poor and naked, they struggled against the powerful Turkish oppressor. His answer came in the form of Alexander's announcement to the Sublime Porte that Russia was maintaining a neutral stance²⁸. Censuring the Tsar's policy,

26. See Papamichael, *Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός*, 273f.

27. *Svodnyj katalog russkoj knigi grazhdanskoj pečati XVIII veka 1725-1800*, vol. II (Moscow, 1954), p. 469, No 5630.

28. See Vacalopoulos, *Ιστορία του νέου Ἑλληνισμού*, vol. V (Thessaloniki, 1980), pp. 220f.

Pushkin wrote scores of letters on behalf of the rebelling Greeks. In 1821, he also wrote his splendid poem dedicated to the Greek mother who loses her son in the struggle for freedom; the heroic lad is likened to the ancient Aristogeiton, who killed the tyrant Hipparchus and was subsequently put to death by Hipparchus's brother, Hippias²⁹.

Living in exile in Kishinēv, Bessarabia, in 1821 Pushkin was able to observe the uprising of the Greeks in the Principalities from very close quarters. He spent the evening of 2 April 1821 at the house of Greek friends in Kishinēv, and wrote in his diary: "We spoke about Ypsilantis. Amongst five Greeks, I was the only one who spoke like a Greek. They are all disheartened by the failure of the *Etaireia*'s work. I am certain that Greece will triumph"³⁰. Pushkin believed that the Greeks' Uprising would pave the way to the overthrow of all tyranny and that it would be the spark that would light the great blaze which would devour the great edifice of the Holy Alliance. He wrote: "This uprising may have significant consequences not only for our own region here but for the whole of Europe"³¹. For him it was not fortuitous that the revolutionary movement against Turkish tyranny, and indeed against all tyranny, had started off amongst the Greeks, the descendants, that is, of those who had taught humankind the ideals of democracy, freedom, and the rule of law. The splendour of ancient Greece sprang to life once more within him; and he conveyed the experience to the whole of Russian society through his poems, his letters, and his articles. In 1827, the Russian poet Gnedich published the whole of the *Iliad* in Russian translation. Pushkin read it hungrily, and in his exhilaration wrote this couplet about Homer:

Hearing the faded sound of the divine Hellenic word,
My soul is hattered by the touch of that venerable shade³².

The failure of the Uprising in the Principalities immeasurably saddened this greatest of Russian poets, and he was shaken to the core by the death of Georgakis Olympios. Believing that a great hero of Greek history had been lost in vain, Pushkin decided to write a long epic poem recounting the story of the Greek struggle in the Principalities. In the spring of 1823, while he was

29. O. B. Shparo, *Osvobozhdenie Grechi i Rossiia (1821-1829)* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 108-9. Cf. S. M. Petrov, *A. S. Pushkin: Ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva* (Moscow, 1973), p. 81.

30. H. Tryat, *Pouchkine*, vol. I (Paris, 1946), p. 276.

31. Tryat, *Pouchkine*, 275.

32. Petrov, *A. S. Pushkin*, 83.

at work on his epic, he invited his friend, Prince P. A. Vjazamskii, to Kishinēv: "I shall introduce you to the heroes of Sculeni and Secu, the warrior Georgakis, and the Greek woman who kissed Byron"³³. Unfortunately, he never finished the epic. The following year, 1824, he wrote his short story "Kirdzhali", which concerns one of the heroes of Sculeni. In it he re-assesses the events and unhesitatingly places the blame for the failure fairly and squarely upon the shoulders of his friend Ypsilantis: "Alexandros Ypsilantis was a courageous man, but he did not have the necessary abilities for the part he so passionately, yet so carelessly, decided to play. He had not the facility to get along with the men he was compelled to guide. They in their turn had for him neither respect nor trust. After the luckless battle in which the flower of Greek youth was cut down, Georgakis Olympios counselled him to withdraw and himself undertook to defend the country. Away galloped Ypsilantis towards the Austrian frontier, whence he cast imprecations upon his men, calling them undisciplined cowards and scoundrels. But it was the greater part of those selfsame cowards and scoundrels who fell within the walls of Secu Monastery or upon the banks of the Pruth, fighting an enemy who was ten times stronger"³⁴.

The news of the uprising of the Greeks in the Danube Principalities reached St Petersburg very quickly, where it came to the ears of, amongst others, Prince Sergii Aleksandrovich Shirinskii-Shixmatov³⁵. The scion of a powerful family and a man of great learning, in 1821 Prince Shixmatov held the rank of Captain and was a teacher at the Naval Cadets' School in St Petersburg. Thanks to his profound classical education, the celebrated Imperial Academy of Sciences opened its portals to him at the tender age of just twenty-

33. Petrov, A. S. *Pushkin*, 82.

34. Petrov, A. S. *Pushkin*, 82.

35. The very interesting, anonymous biography of Prince Shirinskii-Shixmatov was first published in the periodical *Odesskii Vestnik*, No 65 (1837); after it had been read at sessions of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, the printing-house of the Cadets' School produced it as a book in its own right on 29 October 1838. The author's data come from the second, likewise very rare, edition: *O zhizni i trudax Ieromonaxa Anikity, v mire knjazja Sergija Aleksandrovicha Shixmatova* (St Petersburg, 1853). Cf. A. Kovalevskii, "Iz vospominanii o prisnopamiatnyx starcax: ierosimonaxe Serafime Sarovskom, ieromonaxe Anikite (knjaze Shirinskom Shixmatove) i drugix", *Dushepoleznoe chtenie* (April, 1869), 111-14. Between 1834 and 1836, Anikita Shirinskii-Shixmatov travelled around the holy places of the Middle East, including Mount Athos. His travel journal was published by V. Zhmakin, "Puteshestvie ieromonaxa Anikity (v mire knjazja S. A. Shirinskago-Shixmatova) po Svjatym mestam Vostoka v 1834-1836 godax", *Xristianskoe chtenie* (1891), I. 69-117, 526-57, II. 187-98, 317-36, 447-69. Cf. T. G. Stavrou and P. R. Weisensel, *Russian Travellers to the Christian East from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century* (Columbus, Ohio 1986), pp. 222-3.

six years. Both Sergii and his brothers Plato and Alexii had firm religious principles and were inspired by democratic and philanthropic ideas; all three had devoted both themselves and their fortune to the founding of a school for the peasants of their own district. Owing to his status, Prince Sergii Shixmatov was amongst the first to learn the details of the Greeks' uprising. Writing to his brothers on 29 March 1821, he was careful to inform them that though news of the Greeks' rebellion had reached St Petersburg by official channels, the Tsar had not yet authorised the publication of any details whatsoever: "Greece, our Mother in terms of our Faith, and for long centuries weighed down by the barbarians' heavy yoke, has finally decided to seek dynamic revenge, throwing off that ignoble yoke which has been inflicted upon her. Greece has taken up arms to demand her freedom. The flag of liberty is flying throughout the land and all, from the youngest to the most aged, with all the strength at their command, have hurled themselves against the oppressor. Under the leadership of Ypsilantis, who has issued a proclamation, an army of some 15,000 men has been formed, a number which is constantly being swelled by the voluntary enlistment of the sons of the Motherland, each of whom is determined either to die or to resurrect beloved Greece". He concluded: "We can only wish our brothers success"³⁶. In another letter to his brothers on 19 August 1821, the Prince tells them about the Greeks' successes and adds that the Greeks have issued a proclamation to the European Powers, which the Admiral has already translated into Russian; it is doubtful, however, that the Tsar's censors will allow it to be published in the Russian newspapers. "It is very likely that our own time will see the achievement of that great cause, the re-establishment of the Greek Empire and the triumph of our Orthodox faith"³⁷. It is indeed noteworthy that aristocrats serving the Tsar of the mighty Russian Empire retained the unswerving conviction that Byzantium must be reborn as a Greek empire and that it was to Byzantium that the sceptre of the Orthodox world naturally belonged.

Liberal circles in St Petersburg, as also Russian public opinion, were anxiously waiting for the Tsar's policy towards struggling Greece to change. Their concern reached a peak in the autumn of 1822, when the Holy Alliance met in Verona³⁸. In a letter dated 13 December 1822, the Prince wrote: "There is a rumour that our Orthodox Tsar, having been patient enough, is finally

36. V. Zhmakin, "Pis'mo ieromonaxa Anikity o polozhenii cerkvi grecheskago korolevstva (v 1837 godu)", *Xristianskoe chtenie* (1891), I. 458.

37. Zhmakin, "Pis'mo ieromonaxa Anikity", 459.

38. See Laskaris, *Tò 'Ανατολικόν Ζήτημα*, 55.

to come out in support of our fellow Orthodox Christians who are being persecuted and tormented by the barbarian"³⁹. But events were to show just how vain these hopes were, for Russia did not begin to show any interest in the fate of the Greeks until after 1825, when Tsar Nicholas I ascended the throne⁴⁰.

In 1828, at the age of only forty, a member of the Academy with years of experience and naval successes behind him, Prince Sergii Shirinskii-Shixmatov submitted to the Tsar his resignation from the Navy and became a monk⁴¹. During a journey to the Middle East, he received orders from the Russian Holy Synod to lead a spiritual mission to Athens and take up the position of vicar of the Tsarist embassy's chapel there. The Tsar's first ambassador to the Greek capital was Grigorii Katakazi, a Russian of Greek descent, who quickly embarked upon far-reaching diplomatic activity⁴². The former naval officer and Prince, now a hieromonk named Anikita, arrived in Athens in April 1836. But he was to occupy his new post for only a year; for on 7 June 1837, he died in the capital of the tiny Greek kingdom⁴³. During his time in Athens, he wrote a long report, dated 26 April 1837, which was sent to his brother Plato, now Minister for Education in St Petersburg. The report concerned political and ecclesiastical affairs in the new kingdom⁴⁴, and painted a discouraging picture, for Anikita had formed a most disagreeable impression of the Greek people's morale. Whereas, until a few years before, they had all been united like brothers, fighting the common oppressor together, now these selfsame people were divided and destroying each other. The government was alien, completely out of touch with the people, and worst of all showed no respect for their traditions, the very traditions which had

39. Zhmakin, "Pis'mo ieromonaxa Anikity", 459.

40. Laskaris, *Tò 'Anatolikon Zήτημα*, 59-66.

41. See *O zhizni i trudax ieromonaxa Anikity*, 30-3.

42. Concerning Katakazi's diplomatic activity, literature about him, and the Russophiles in Athens, see B. Jelavich, *Russia and Greece during the Regency of King Otto 1832-1835* (Thessaloniki 1962). Cf. C. Papoulidis, «Ρωσικό ενδιαφέρον για την Έκκλησία της Ελλάδος την εποχή του Όθωνα με βάση έγγραφα του Αρχείου Έξωτερικής Πολιτικής της Ρωσίας», *Θεολογία*, 58 (1987), 144-51.

43. Hieromonk Anikita Shirinskii-Shixmatov was well loved by the Athenians, who refused to allow his remains to be taken either to Russia or to Mount Athos; he was therefore eventually buried at Petraki Monastery. See *O zhizni i trudax ieromonaxa Anikity*, 66-9. Cf. Zhmakin, "Pis'mo ieromonaxa Anikity", 467-9; I. Apostolidis, *Παναγία Ανυπόδημος* (Athens, 1959), 36-7. Though short, this latter work contains much interesting information about the royal hieromonk's activity in Athens.

44. Zhmakin, "Pis'mo ieromonaxa Anikity", 460-6.

kept them Greek and Orthodox for centuries. After Capodistrias, education in the schools had also lost touch with tradition⁴⁵. American missionaries were blithely engaged in religious activity which went quite against the principles of Greek Orthodoxy and, having plenty of money, had opened, alongside the thirty existing primary schools, a number of mutually instructive schools in which they were teaching their own doctrines quite unhampered by any checks or control. This cutting-off from tradition, however, culminated in the arbitrary creation of the autocephalous Church of Greece, a move which was made at the Bavarians' suggestion in order to alienate the free Greeks once and for all from their spiritual centre, the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Shixmatov's report came into the hands of the Metropolitan of Moscow, Filaret Drozdov, an eminent figure who influenced not only ecclesiastical but also political affairs in Russia for forty-five years. After reading the report, Filaret noted in his diary: "The description of the deplorable state of the Church in the Greek kingdom — if, indeed, in its present condition it may be termed a church — is the second testimony relating to it which has reached me from a member of the Orthodox prelacy. I have also seen a little book, in Greek, which the American Methodists have published in Greece, and in which they brazenly oppose the traditions and principles of the Orthodox Church. They call publicly upon the Greeks to reform it, or in other words to destroy it, within Greece itself. What an unlooked-for muddle! A government of German nationality and Latin faith, in this land of the Greeks, showing favour to the American Methodists"⁴⁶.

As we know, the Greeks' struggle was lost in the Danube Principalities; but it flourished in the Peloponnese, the islands, and mainland Greece. Only a small section of the Greeks, who were spread over three continents, had gained freedom and formed a kingdom. For the time being, the dream of liberating the capital city of all the Greeks, Constantinople, had to take second place. The establishment of an autocephalous church in the new state was a decisive stage in the severing of its bonds with the Greeks' age-old centre, the quondam "ruling city". The Bavarians in Athens had already gone a long way towards furthering the aims of the Great Powers, who were anxious that the Greeks should never regain all their former greatness. The Bavarians

45. A. Geromichalos, «Ἡ περὶ παιδείας καὶ Ἐκκλησίας φροντίς τοῦ κυβερνήτου Ἰωάννου Καποδιστρίου», *Μνήμη* 1821, 207-20. Cf. N. Pantazopoulos, «Georg Ludwig von Maurer: «Ἡ πρὸς εὐρωπαϊκὰ πρότυπα δλοκληρωτικὴ στροφὴ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς νομοθεσίας», *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Σχολῆς Νομικῶν καὶ Οἰκονομικῶν Ἐπιστημῶν*, 13 (1968), 1385-1405.

46. Zhmakin, "Pis'mo ieromonaxa Anikity", 466.

found ready collaborators in certain Greeks, who laboured zealously to snuff out dreams and visions. Russian public opinion was now faced with the image of a divided Greek reality: on the one hand, a small state under Bavarian leadership; and on the other, the vast number of Greeks still in bondage, under the spiritual protection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which had already received the first stab in the back from its own people. The spread of the ideas of the European Enlightenment amongst Russian intellectual circles brought with it an interest in ancient Greek. Classical literature flourished in Russia during the nineteenth century and classical Greek antiquity was the focus of every educated Russian's interest. However, people immediately began to compare modern with ancient Greece and, needless to say, as had already happened with the Europeans, the comparison was not favourable to modern Greece⁴⁷. At the same time, the proponents of the Enlightenment were opposed to church tradition, which was another factor in the lessening of their interest in the majority of the Greeks, who were living under the shadow of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Having no particular enthusiasm for Orthodoxy, they ceased to regard it as something which linked them with the Greeks, whether in bondage or in freedom. The conservatives, on the other hand, who believed in the principles and traditions of Orthodox Christianity, were for the most part supporters of the Slavophile movement, which was gradually moving towards Pan Slavism⁴⁸.

The Slavophiles did, it is true, have profound religious convictions, but these drew their strength to a great extent from Russian Messianic and national concepts. In 1860, a select group of Slavophiles, led by the philosopher A. S. Xomiakov⁴⁹, issued a declaration to the people of Serbia⁵⁰, in which they

47. In this connection, it is interesting to look at Russian diplomatic reactions to the Greeks' revolt against the king in 1843. See B. Jelavich, *Russia and the Greek Revolution of 1843* (Munich, 1966).

48. M. B. Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Pan Slavism, 1856-1870* (New York, 1958), Cf. A. Gleason, *European and Muscovite: Ivan Kireevsky and the Origins of Slavophilism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

49. Xomjakov was one of the most distinguished Slavophiles of the nineteenth century and wielded great influence in conservative circles. His theological views are particularly interesting and carried much weight with the Russian theological circles of the Diaspora. Fundamental works concerning his life, his work, and the circles in which he moved are: A. Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, vol. I. *Les Hommes*, vol. II. *Les Doctrines* (Paris, 1939); and idem, *Le Mouvement slavophile à la veille de la Révolution: Dimitri A. Khomiakov* (Paris, 1953).

50. The Russian text of the declaration was last published in Xomjakov's collected works: A. Xomjakov, *Izbrannye sochinenija*, edited by Prof. N. S. Arsenjev (New York, 1955), pp. 172-206.

accused the Greeks of spiritual pride and arrogance. However, the declaration was itself so supercilious in tone that it quite failed to rouse the Serbs⁵¹. The Panslavists envisaged a union of all the Slavonic peoples under the sceptre of the Russian Tsar; and within this great east European family a place was also to be reserved for the Greeks and the Romanians, since they too shared the same religious and spiritual foundation. In 1869, one of the leaders of the Russian Panslavist movement, N. I. Danilevskii, published the much-acclaimed *Russia and Europe*⁵², in which was clearly set forth the political manifesto of Panslavism. The great Panslavonic confederation would also include the Kingdom of Greece, as also Thessaly, Epirus, south-western Macedonia, all the Aegean Islands, Rhodes, Crete, Cyprus, and the islands along the Asia Minor littoral. Most of Rumelia and Macedonia would belong to Bulgaria, and the department of Constantinople would include the rest of Rumelia, Asia Minor, the Sea of Marmara, the Dardanelles, Gallipoli, and the island of Tenedos. Danilevskii did not regard the Greeks either as farmers or as industrialists, but simply as merchants and mariners: "When", he wondered, "will Greece be able to acquire a merchant marine powerful enough to enable her to trade on an international scale"⁵³? He believed that only a Greek-Slav union could make Greece a maritime power. The following year, in 1870, another Panslavist, P. A. Fadeev, published in St Petersburg his work *Opinions on the Eastern Question*⁵⁴, in which he categorically stated that the Greeks' Great Idea was a foolish chimaera, a figment of the Greek intellectuals' antiquity-fixated imagination which Russia would never permit to become a reality.

This was the sort of thing which was being said and written by the intellectual Russian Panslavists; and their views coincided absolutely with the

51. The title given to the letter is: "To the Serbs. Letter from Moscow". Concerning its contents and the Serbs' negative attitude to it, see Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov*, II, 200-6. Cf. Petrovich, *The Emergence*, 96-102. Cf. A. Tamborrà, "A. S. Chomiakov, il suo messaggio *K Serbam* del 1860 ed il suo significato", *Europa Orientalis*, VIII (1989), 117-20.

52. N. I. Danilevskii, *Rossija i Evropa: vzgljad na kul'turnyja i političeskija otnošenija slavjanskago mira k germano-romanskomu*, 5th edition (St Petersburg, 1895). This work has also been translated into German by Karl Notzel: *Russland und Europa: eine Untersuchung über die kulturellen und politischen Beziehungen der slawischen zur germanisch-romanischen Welt* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1920).

53. Petrovich, *The Emergence*, 205.

54. R. A. Fadeev, *Mnenie o vostočnom voprose* (St Petersburg, 1870). This work has also been translated into Serbian: *O Istočnom pitanju* (Belgrade, 1870); and English: *Opinion on the Eastern Question*, trans. T. Mitchell (London, 1871).

policy of the Foreign Ministry in St Petersburg towards Greece and the Eastern Question.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, there appeared on the scene an individual with a more profound understanding of Greek affairs: the distinguished thinker and writer, K. P. Leont'ev⁵⁵. A man with a liberal and critical mind and an uncompromising intellect, Leont'ev was a genuine esthète. He had served as a Russian diplomat in Chania, Ioannina, and Adrianople, and ended his diplomatic career in 1871 as Russia's Consul General in Thessaloniki. In addition to four short stories relating to the Cretan Revolution of 1866, his extensive œuvre includes a number of notable political essays on the Eastern Question. Leont'ev did not share the views of the Panslavists. He had a profound belief in the virtues of the Balkan peoples, and unreservedly acknowledged the supremacy of the Greeks. Though not always entirely correct, his judgements demonstrated a truly rare acumen and perspicacity. He was sharply critical of the mentality that was developing among the up-and-coming bourgeoisie in the Balkan countries, and at the same time emphasised the vast gulf it created between the bourgeois mind and the popular spirit. Above all, he was offended by the superficial, shallow mimicry of the Western way of life and thinking which was appearing in the new bourgeoisie in the Greek kingdom. In one of his studies he wrote: "The Greek bourgeoisie is very different from the Bulgarian. The discriminating, prudent, thoughtful Phanariot is much more patrician in appearance, much more apt for serious politics, with a much better social upbringing than the Athenian politician. What, by the way, is an educated Athenian? Something of an ancient orator,

55. Leont'ev's works have been published in nine volumes: *Sobranie sochinenij K. Leont'eva* (Moscow, 1912-13). The fifth and sixth volumes contain his articles, studies, and essays on the Eastern Question which had previously been published under the title *Vostok, Rossija i slavjanstvo*, 2 vols (Moscow, 1885-6). Long after his death an autobiography was discovered, and first published in the periodical *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, 22-24 (1935), 427-96; the more recent edition is K. Leont'ev, *Moja literaturnaja sud'ba: Avtobiografija*, The Slavic Series, 1 (New York and London, 1965). The most important studies of Leont'ev are by N. Berdjajev, *Konstantin Leont'ev: Očerki iz istorii russkoj religioznoj mysli* (Paris, 1926), and G. Kologrivov, *Constantino Leontjev: La sua vita ed il suo pensiero (1831-1891)* (Bergamo, 1949). Unfortunately, neither of these excellent works contains any extensive discussion of Leont'ev's opinions on the very interesting issues connected with Greek and Slav relations. On the Greek side, only K. Lassithiotakis has so far dealt with this eminent Russian intellectual in an article published in the periodical *Ελληνική Δημοκρατία*, 153 (1954). Lassithiotakis has also published one of Leont'ev's short stories in Greek translation with an introduction and notes, *Χρυσή: Διήγημα από την κρητική ζωή 1868* (Thessaloniki, 1966).

something of a Parisian demagogue, something of an *affairiste*, something of a tawdry gentleman when flirting with the ladies. He still blindly believes that the Greek is the wisest man in the world, that the Greek nation is the only phoenix in history and, before the end of the world, will be reborn a few times more to sprinkle the human race with flowers and nourish it with the fruits of its genius"⁵⁶. According to Leont'ev, it was this bourgeoisie with its slavish imitation of all things Western which had destroyed the tradition of the dashing gallantry (*levendia*) of the Cretan in his *vraki*, the Peloponnesian, the Mainlander, and the Epirot in their *foustanella*, and the Macedonian Greek in his *salavari*. Leont'ev debunked the views of the Panslavists and opposed Danilevskii's manifesto: "Mr Danilevskii has great faith in the Slavs and in a very exclusive manner places all his hopes in them. I too had such faith when I was living in Constantinople; I had high hopes of their independence of mind. I very soon realised, however, that, from precisely this point of view of cultural originality (to which I attach such importance), all the Slavs, whether in the South or in the West, are no more than an unavoidable political evil for us Russians; for thus far, they have nothing to offer the world in terms of an intelligentsia but a pedestrian and stereotyped bourgeoisie"⁵⁷. The literature which was being produced in the Greek kingdom was a literature of the new bourgeois lifestyle, far removed from the soul of the people and the traditional folksong, and to Leont'ev it was devoid of any content, shallow, unconnected with the real existential struggles and the profounder speculations of the individual. Though he did not regard Achilleas Paraschos's poetry as being of exceptional interest, he nonetheless considered that his love poems presented certain interesting and original dimensions⁵⁸.

Leont'ev could see before him two Greek domains: the tiny free kingdom, and the vast domain of the unredeemed Greeks with Constantinople still as its centre and capital. But despite his wholehearted admiration for the unredeemed Greeks, he categorically rejected the notion of a Greek empire. In a number of political articles on Constantinople's future, he acknowledged the Greeks and the Bulgarians as the only natural contenders for the Bosphorus, but regarded neither of them as worthy of possessing this "pearl", as he called Constantinople. "The Greeks' childish dreams of the Great Idea", he wrote, "that is, the re-establishment of Greek Byzantium as far as the Balkans

56. In his article "Russkie, Greki i Jugo-Slavjane: Opyt nacional'noj psixologii", *Vostok, Rossija i slavjanstvo* (Moscow, 1912), p. 271.

57. "Dopolnenie k dvum stat'jam o panslavizme", *Vostok, Rossija i slavjanstvo*, 108.

58. "Russkie, Greki i Jugo-Slavjane", 293-6.

and beyond, and the cheap patriotism of the Bulgarians, who, being unable to attain the level of the universal Slavonic vision, are constantly ready to disorganise and destroy the Orthodox Church with their intolerable wrangling, make these two peoples equally unworthy of possessing the Bosphorus"⁵⁹. Thus, possibly the keenest Philhellene among the Russian intellectuals and publicists of the nineteenth century was opposed to the re-establishment of the Greek Empire. The Russians continued to nurture an absolute respect for the Ecumenical Patriarchate; but the new angle from which they now viewed things placed it on a different footing. This is clear from the policy of the eminent Russian diplomat, Count N. P. Ignat'ev, during the first phase of the Bulgarian Question⁶⁰. Albeit a Pan Slavist himself, Ignat'ev believed that Russia ought to support the Patriarchate against the southern Slavs and use it as an instrument in its plans for extending its own influence; for, owing to its powerful spiritual authority and influence, the Greek Patriarchate could remain an allied spiritual empire for Russia in the Near East. Later, of course, after his plan had fallen through, he took up the cudgels in unconditional defence of Bulgarian political interests.

All that has been said so far is but a page in the yet unwritten book about the Russian intelligentsia's attitude to the question of the renaissance of the Greek nation. It could also serve as a brief introduction and jumping-off point for an investigation of a very interesting subject, which, however, is still awaiting the scholar or specialist who will research it more thoroughly. It is to be expected that the aspects which will come to light will reveal facts that will give us a much more complete picture of the position the Greeks occupied in the Russian intelligentsia's outlook in the nineteenth century.

59. "Pis'ma o vostochnix delax", *Vostok, Rossija i slavjanstvo*, 447-8.

60. Concerning Count Ignat'ev's attitude to the Bulgarian Ecclesiastical Question, see the excellent work by the Patriarch of Bulgaria, Kiril: Kiril Patriarh Bălgarski, *Graf N. P. Ignatiev i bălgarskijat carkoven vāpros: Izsledvane i dokumenti*, vol. I (Sofia, 1958). Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, *Ἱστορία τῶν Σλαβικῶν Ὁρθόδοξων Ἐκκλησιῶν: Πανεπιστημιακαὶ παραδόσεις* (Thessaloniki, 1970), pp. 116-36.

BASIL C. GOUNARIS

GRECO-TURKISH RAILWAY CONNECTION: ILLUSIONS AND
BARGAINS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY BALKANS*

In the minds of nineteenth century statesmen the ability of railways to stimulate finances assumed legendary proportions. Proponents connected railways with the immediate solution of considerable political and economic problems. The rapid progress that some European states experienced after constructing a railway network was pointing to the same direction. Naturally, such a prospect could not leave indifferent any state, especially those which were desperately trying to solve the problem of a growing budget deficit. Greece and the Ottoman Empire were no exception to the rule. Despite profound financial weakness and a rather unfavourable political background they both tried to meet the railway challenge in a desperate attempt to catch up with modernisation. This paper, will first try to evaluate briefly the economic and political prospects of railway building both in Greece and in the Ottoman Empire in the mid-nineteenth century. Then it will focus on the diplomatic manoeuvres of successive Greek governments, from the 1870s to the first decade of this century, to achieve Ottoman consent for a railway junction between the two neighbouring states. Finally it will examine the causes of failure to achieve this consent in an overall attempt to prove that the junction issue had never had a chance of success within the particular financial and political context.

Railway planning in Greece was put forward as early as 1835, but the actual construction remained an unfulfilled dream for more than 35 years. Poor finances and low capital accumulation essentially deprived the Greek state of international credit and substantial investment until the early 1870s. However, Greece's feeble position in the international capital market, although an important, was not the only one factor which discouraged the immediate introduction of railways. Almost half a century after Independence, agriculture was still the dominant financial sector. Yet, although certain international circumstances had favoured commercialisation of some cheap agricultural

* As usual, I am grateful for his valuable comments to Prof. John S. Koliopoulos.

products, export trade was confined to limited coastal areas. Industry, on the other hand, restricted by the low rate of urbanisation, shortage of capital, international competition and the insufficient land communication system, was represented until the late 1860s only in the form of some small scale manufactures¹.

In the 1870s a number of new factors influenced the Greek economy, though not as drastically as contemporaries would have hoped. Urbanisation accelerated and measures, like additional customs duties, were taken to protect local industrial products. Moreover, the flow of western capital to the Balkans and to eastern Mediterranean basin in search of lucrative investments increased due to the financial crisis which shook European economies from the mid 1870s onwards. In this favourable context, Greek industry would have done better, had it not been for the opening of the French market to the Greek currants and, some years later, for the annexation of Thessaly to the Greek state. The expansion of the vine and cereal cultivation, in conjunction with a wavering customs policy, hindered the effective supply of industry in manpower and discouraged investments in the secondary sector.

Still, despite the growing agricultural output and the deplorable transportation network, railway construction was not, in fact, a state-wide pressing issue. No doubt, local lines in western Peloponnese and in Thessaly would have been beneficial for the native commercial needs, but a national network connected to the European was a luxury that Greece could do without, at least for a few more years. Yet, in view of railway expansion in the Balkans, railway access to the north, like so many other issues in Greek history, was sentimentally charged and deliberately overemphasised. It was considered as a necessary condition, not only for economic development, but also for the political unification of the nation with its brethren in Macedonia².

More sober than the young kingdom, the Ottoman Empire was no less anxious to build its own railway network, both in the Asiatic and in the European provinces. In contrast to the Greek governments, which had a rather vague idea about what changes railways would bring to the country, the Porte had far more realistic expectations. The Empire was on the defensive and the General Staff was well aware that, in the future, keeping Ottoman dominions

1. Leuteris Papagiannakis, *Oi ellinikoi sidtrodromoi (1882-1910)* [Greek Railways, 1882-1910] (Athens, 1982), 45-61. Nikos Mouzelis, *Neoelliniki koitronia: opseis ypanaptyxis* [Modern Greek Society: Facets of underdevelopment] (translated by Tzeni Mastoraki, Athens, 1978), 34-38.

2. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 61-72. Mouzelis, *op. cit.*, 38-44.

in one piece would depend on the speed at which reserves would be forwarded to the front. For Sultan Abd-ül Aziz, a well known admirer of technological innovations, and Grand Vezirs Ali and Fuad, railway construction was necessary for the financial revival of the Empire. Both industry and agriculture were expected to profit a lot: raw material, minerals for example, would be transported at a low cost and fast; new areas would be opened to cultivation, since access to the sea would be secured; public revenue would rise steadily, since financial control over remote provinces would be strengthened³.

Unlike the Greeks, Turks were to see their railway dreams fulfilled quite soon. In fact construction work in Turkey had progressed long before a single mile was laid in Greece. Between 1856 and 1866 four lines of local importance had been constructed by British companies, two in the Asiatic and two in the European provinces. The Ottoman Empire was still a newcomer in the world capital market. State borrowing was relatively easy for the Porte; actually, it was encouraged by western bankers. Direct foreign investments, either in Anatolia or in the Balkans, were also considered as extremely profitable for Europeans. Especially railway construction was first classe choice for western capitalists, not only because of the extremely high kilometric guarantees but also for the consequent stimulation of import and export trade⁴.

Both Greece and Turkey seemed to share common illusions about their financial recovery. The prospect of railway construction had nourished these dreams to a large extent. The governments of the two neighbouring states hoped in vain that railways could by themselves push all financial indicators upwards, while carriageable feeder roads did not exceed few hundred miles. However, in spite of similar economic expectations, political and military considerations were anything but similar. The Greek kingdom had never ceased plotting, officially or unofficially, against the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; its collapse was the goal of practically every Greek. Evidently, railway connection with the *irredenta* was expected to check slavic propaganda and to be the first step towards economic incorporation and eventually politi-

3. Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* (Princeton, 1963), 238. Şefket Pamuk, "Foreign Trade, Foreign Capital and the Peripheralization of the Ottoman Empire, 1830-1913" (California Univ. Ph. D. thesis, 1978), 148-150. Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1968), 96.

4. The Smyrna-Aidin and the Smyrna-Kassaba lines in Asia Minor and the Costanta-Chernavoda and the Varna-Ruse in the Balkans [Yaquub N. Karkar, *Railway Development in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1914* (New York etc., 1972), 64-67]. Şefket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820-1913* (Cambridge, 1987), 12-13, 56-57, 68.

cal annexation⁵. Naturally, the Porte and the Ottoman General Staff were determined to prevent Greek irredentists have their way and, therefore, extremely reluctant to support any Greek railway scheme.

Despite favourable conditions in the capital market, it was not until April 1869 that a major railway construction project was assigned to a European company by the Porte. After lengthy negotiations, Baron Maurice de Hirsch, a well known capitalist of the time, undertook the construction of a 1,550-mile long network throughout the Ottoman European provinces; a network which was expected to bind up all the western dominions and, eventually, give them access to central Europe⁶.

While the Ottoman Empire was making the first decisive steps in the railway era Greece, with its 5.2 mile long network, was immersed in fruitless parliamentary debates and endless negotiations. Between 1859 and 1872 five different companies (Leathers, Louis de Normand, Piat, Crédit Foncier and Duvernois-Fornerod) had put forward railway projects for the construction of track from Athens to the border. All of them failed to reach an agreement with the Greek government. Piat was the most successful of all. In 1870 he was granted a concession to build a line from Piraeus to the border. A year later Halil Bey, the representative of the Porte, met in Vienna with Chancellor Beust and started negotiations for the connection of the Austrian and Ottoman railway networks. The Greek press urged the government to seize the chance and join the Austro-Ottoman scheme. However, Piat's attempts to raise the necessary funds were to no avail. A consortium of Greek capitalists, represented by Andreas Syngros and Stephanos Skouloudis, offered to take over the project in 1872 but fortune did not favour them either. Although the proposal was accepted by the Deligeorgis cabinet, work ceased only a few months after it had started, in October 1873. The reasons was a disagreement between the government and the construction company over the position of the Piraeus railway station, a disagreement which developed into a lengthy legal dispute⁷.

It is interesting that the first official Greek approach to the Porte, on the issue of the railway connection, was made in July 1875, after fifteen years

5. See for example *Ephimeris ton Syzitiaseon tis Voults* (E.S.V.), eleventh period, special synod, 23 Mar. 1889, p. 292.

6. For an excellent account of railway construction in the Ottoman Balkans see: George Young, *Corps de droit Ottoman*, iv (Oxford, 1906), 62-117.

7. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 52-59. Walter Rechberger, "Zur Geschichte der Orientbahnen. Ein Beitrag zur österreichisch-ungarischen Eisenbahnpolitik auf dem Balkan in den Jahren von 1852-1888" (Vienna Univ. Ph. D. thesis, 1858), 134-136.

of planning an international line. It is even more interesting that it was probably Trikoupis' initiative, whose interim government had taken office three months earlier. Albeit a clear indication of Trikoupis' enthusiasm for public works, it was by no means the appropriate time for such a move. For Greece, July 1875 was an election month, while the Porte had much more serious problems to tackle, since the small scale rising in Bosnia was gradually evolving into a major crisis. Ottoman officials were willing to offer their verbal assurance that Turkey would not reject any enterprise expected to benefit both states, a tactic which was not to be abandoned in the following years⁸.

Shortly after the Congress of Berlin railway companies repeated their proposals. In July 1879 Count de Moutressy submitted a wider railway construction plan, including a track to the border, but his terms were not appealing at all. In August 1881 Perdoux was granted by the Koumoundouros cabiner a concession to build a line from Patras to Larissa via Piraeus. Soon he declared that he could not meet the requirements, unless the terms were reconsidered in his favour. But Trikoupis, who had won the December 1881 elections, was radically opposed not only to a reconsideration but to the initial terms as well. For the new Premier an international railway line was not a matter of priority. A national network, which would unify the local markets, was thought to be much more promising⁹.

Although Trikoupis's railway policy, inaugurated in early 1882, was devoted to the development of the local lines, he did not ignore the prospect of a future international connection with Turkey. The annexation of Thessaly in 1881 had renewed hopes for further expansion to the north. Moreover, the convention signed by the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary, Serbia and the Principality of Bulgaria, in May 1883, had made clear that the Balkan railway unification would soon be realised. Pressure from the *irredenta* was also not negligible. In a letter addressed to Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, a prominent Greek historian and deeply involved in the dissemination of Greek letters and culture in the Greek *irredenta*, the Greek Consul in Salonika mentioned that a connection via Servia (a town near Kozani) would support

8. The information comes from a retrospective account sent by Foreign Minister Stephanos Dragoumis to the Greek Ambassador to the Porte, Andreas Koundouriotis, in 1886. See Greece, *Archeion Ypourgeiou ton Exoterikon* (AYE) [Foreign Ministry Archives]/*Presveia Konstantinoupoleos* (PK)/1906/6, 13 Sept. 1886, No. 9001. In January 1876 the first Greek newspaper of Salonika, *Ermis*, wrote that the Porte had accepted the connection of the Greek and Turkish railway networks (*Ermis*, 70/27 Jan. 1876). It was either a delayed publication or a new verbal reassurance.

9. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 59-60, 75-76, 91-92.

Greco-Turkish trade, divert the migration traffic from Bulgaria to Thessaly and facilitate the foundation of a Greek agricultural bank in Macedonia. He even suggested that, since the project was of paramount national importance, Greece should not hesitate to sacrifice its short term financial interests¹⁰.

In fact approaches to the Porte must have been repeated shortly after the Eastern Crisis but to no avail. Premier Koumoundouros had even tried during his tenth and last time in office (Oct. 1880 to Mar. 1883), on behalf of certain European engineers, to get permission for a study of a junction line. Turkish officials were negative. They were constantly arguing that the Empire's financial situation was too weak to start another railway project. The Ottoman Ministry for Public Works passed the issue over to the Foreign Ministry but no decision was made. In early March 1884 Alexandros Kondostavlos, Trikoupi's Foreign Minister, proceeded to yet one more approach. He urged the Greek Ambassador in Constantinople, Andreas Koundouriotis, to repeat his calls to the Porte and informed him that, in exchange for the Ottoman concession, Greece would volunteer to guarantee the annual returns of the Turkish part of the connection line, relinquishing even the right of surveillance.

However, Koundouriotis seemed reluctant to proceed immediately to such an unfair bargain. Instead, he met with the Ottoman Foreign Minister, Aarifi Pasha, who eventually promised to get permission for the engineers. Aarifi was honest enough to admit that there was a "prejudism" against railway connection with "other countries" which would not be easily "uprooted". Koundouriotis suggested that they should wait until the permission for the study was granted. But he himself could not stay aloof for long. He went on pressing Aarifi, though always in vain. The Ottoman Minister continued to give nothing more than promises¹¹.

In April 1884 there was still no sign of approval. The Volos-Larissa line was on the point of inauguration and Kondostavlos must have been anxious to get from the Turks a positive reply. He asked his Ambassador to suggest a more effective way to handle the problem. Koundouriotis in his account explained that the Turks feared that any connection with European states would diminish their sovereignty over the European provinces. He calculated

10. For the text of the convention see Young, *op. cit.*, iv 76-83. AYE/PK/1883, Dokos to Chairman of the Association for the Dissemination of the Greek Letters, Monastir, 8 Dec. 1883, No. 851.

11. AYE/PK/1906/6, S. Dragoumis to Koundouriotis, Athens, 13 Sept. 1886, No. 9001; Kondostavlos to Koundouriotis, Athens, 5 Mar. 1884, No. 307; Koundouriotis to Kondostavlos, Constantinople, 12 Mar. 1884, No. 603 and 3 Apr. 1884, No. 870.

that, the connection with Austria-Hungary, which was on its way, would help the Sultan to give in, despite his prejudice, and thought it was advisable, in due time and in a "suitable" way, to draw the attention of the Turks to the strategic advantages a railway connection with Greece offered. Eventually, he suggested that it was time for the Greeks to take over the financial burden of the Ottoman guarantee, but he pointed out that the approach should be made by a foreign railway company in order to extort a definite reply by the Porte¹².

Although the Greek government offered to cover the Turkish share of a future guarantee without involving the Sultan's domains, the Porte officially remained silent. Despite Koundouriotis frequent visits to the Ministers both for Foreign and Domestic Affairs, despite the lengthy and warm conversations on the advantages of the junction, despite his optimism and his well calculated approaches, nothing was gained. Actually, by the end of 1884 no permission had been granted not only for the connection but not even for the study. Aarifi declared that he could not commit himself to the case before the completion of the Austro-Turkish junction line¹³.

Needless to say 1885 and the first semester of 1886 was not the appropriate time to raise the issue anew. Tension in the Balkans, following the annexation of Eastern Rumelia by Bulgaria, retarded the construction of the Turco-Austrian junction line. Theodoros Diligiannis's cabinet considered seriously war against Turkey in order to balance the new Bulgarian southern acquisitions, in fact he even proceeded to mobilise Greek forces. An ultimatum sent by the Great Powers and the blockade of Piraeus brought them back to reality. The fragile Greek economy failed to sustain the additional financial burdens, while troops could not be sent to the front by boat, via the port of Volos. In May 1886 Trikoupis returned to power and the army was soon demobilised. A month later the network of Thessaly, from Volos to Kalambaka, was given to traffic. Before the end of September 1886 interest for a track to the border revived as nationalist feeling subsided. Thus, Koundouriotis was sent once again to the Porte to renew Greek proposals for a junction line¹⁴.

12. AYE/PK/1906/6, Kondostavlos to Koundouriotis, Athens, 11 Apr. 1884, No. 400; Koundouriotis to Kondostavlos, Constantinople, 24 Apr. 1884, No. 958.

13. AYE/PK/1906/6, Koundouriotis to Kondostavlos, Constantinople, 28 June 1884, No. 1601 and 5 Dec. 1884, No. 2834; Kondostavlos to Kountouriotis, Athens, 21 Nov. 1884, No. 1732.

14. Basil C. Gounaris, "Railway Konstruction and Railway Availability in Macedonia in the Late Nineteenth century", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 13 (1989), 146-147.

The Rumelian Crisis had clearly shown to both Greeks and Turks that railway construction was an imperative need. Actually, the Ottoman state had already experienced the benefits of railway transportation in the Eastern Crisis (1875-78). As Greek aggressiveness was becoming more dangerous and unpredictable, another track to the south was seen as useful for sending troops to the border. During the first half of 1887 the Porte asked Vitali's company, which was building the last part of the Turco-Austrian junction, to prepare a study for a line running from Velesa (Titov Velles) to Elason via Monastir (Bitol). Since the company lacked the necessary staff, a survey was ordered instead. It was evident that railways were approaching to the Greco-Turkish border, yet there was no encouraging sign that the Ottoman government was considering seriously a junction line¹⁵.

In January 1888 Alfred Kaulla, director of the Württembergische Vereinsbank, who was involved in the sale of Mauser rifles to the Ottoman Empire, informed Koundouriotis that the Porte had approved a railway line from Velesa to Servia, according to a scheme put forward by Lafayette de Freize, the representative of an American company. In March of the same year there were even rumors, circulated by Field-marshal Rejep Pasha in Salonika, that the imperial *irade* had already been granted. Rejep was loquacious enough to communicate to the Greek Consul General in Salonika, George Dokos, that the new track would run from Gradstko to Kozani via Monastir and Florina. He even speculated that there were chances for a junction line from Veroia to Tyrnavos, via the coast of Katerini, but the Kozani-Kalambaka scheme was out of the question. Kaulla was not particularly happy with the idea. Personally he was interested in building a coastal line from Salonika to the border but his project had already been rejected by the Ministry for Public Works as harmful to the Empire's commercial interests. Counting on his influence with the Sultan, Kaulla hoped that he would be able to cancel the decision taken by the government. Later developments showed that he had good reasons to be so optimistic¹⁶.

As the Turco-Austrian junction line reached its end, in May 1888, Greek

Georgios Aspreas, *Politiki Istoria tis Neoteris Ellados* [Political History of Modern Greece], (Athens, 1930), ii 162-175. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 116, 127. AYE/PK/1906/6, S. Dragoumis to Koundouriotis, Athens, 13 Sept. 1886, No. 9001.

15. AYE/PK/1906/6, unsigned note, Constantinople, 25 Sept. 1887, attached to Memo No. 280.

16. AYE/PK/1906/6, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 2 Jan. 1888, No. 10. AYE/PK/1888/Consulates-Vice -Consulates/Dokos to Koundouriotis, Salonika, 8 May 1888, No. 558.

anxiety increased. The prospect of direct communication with Europe had put Austrian and German capitalists into a frenzy of investments in Salonika. However, the Greek community was unprepared to meet the Austrian commercial challenge. Greek investors appeared rather reluctant to do business in Macedonia and the shortage of Greek banking houses was obvious. Moreover, the commercial rise of Salonika was expected to increase the interest of northern neighbours for an Aegean outlet. As the Greek newspaper *Ephimeris* wrote "the loss of Salonika implies the inevitable political death of Greece"¹⁷.

Inevitably, as the tactic of personal contacts had failed to bring any results, Greek railway policy had to be reconsidered. It seems that during the summer of 1888 Markos Dragoumis, the Greek Ambassador in Vienna, began to sound members of the Austrian cabinet. In October he announced that Austria-Hungary was willing to support Greek approaches to the Porte. In addition, the Austrians advised a parallel approach by a railway company. Of course, the "advice" was anything but friendly, since L nderbank of Vienna, which was already involved in serious banking business in Salonika, had shown interest in financing the Piraeus-Larissa project and hoped to get simultaneous Ottoman permission for a junction line as well¹⁸.

Assuring Austrian support was only one part of Greek objectives. During the same period contacts were made with representatives of all Great Powers, perhaps with the exception of Great Britain. The German Ambassador in Constantinople encouraged an immediate Greek approach and evaluated that both Austrians and Italians would assist Greek claims¹⁹. Russian support was also sought and promised, although Nicholas Giers, the Russian Foreign Minister, seemed to ignore the matter²⁰. In Paris, Ambassador Nikolaos Diligiannis had a successful meeting with R n  Goblet, the French Foreign Minister. The latter promised to favour the Greek venture and instruct the French Ambassador in Constantinople accordingly, if Greece would care to put the request for mediation officially. Naturally, Goblet expressed his hopes that in due time Greece would choose French banks to finance railway con-

17. *Loc. cit.* *Pharos tis Makedonias*, 1240/14 May 1888. AYE/Kentriki Ypiresia (KY)/1888/B/30, Dokos to S. Dragoumis, Salonika 15 Sept. 1888, No. 1239; 22 Oct. 1888, No. 1443. *Ephimeris*, 180/28 June 1888.

18. AYE/KY/1888/B/30, M. Dragoumis to S. Dragoumis, Vienna 14 Oct. 1888, No. 520/203; 2 Oct. 1888, No. 504/191.

19. AYE/PK/1906/6, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 20 Sept. 1888, No. 2860; S. Dragoumis to Koundouriotis, Athens, 3 Oct. 1888, No. 10598.

20. AYE/KY/1888/B/30, Panas to S. Dragoumis, Petersburg, 24 Oct. 1888, No. 51.

struction. Actually, a few days later, before any French mediation, Comptoir d'Escompte was encouraged by Goblet to cooperate with L nderbank²¹.

In mid October 1888 international pressure seemed to be working effectively. Koundouriotis was informed that the Grand Vezir had already studied the issue and the Ottoman Foreign Minister had promised to support Greek claims at the Cabinet meeting²². However, the pressure exercised by the Great Powers did not revive Greek aspirations only. Kaulla approached the Porte once again, though not officially. In view of the fact that he was also the go-between for a new loan agreement, the Turkish government thought it was unwise to turn him down. Thus, Kaulla was granted permission to proceed with a study of a junction line²³. Only a few weeks later in Vienna he discouraged the director of the L nderbank to cooperate with the French and get involved with the Greco-Turkish line. He argued convincingly that the construction of the Turkish part was not profitable and the international financial situation unfavourable²⁴. Was he consciously misleading the Austrians to get them out of his way or was it a blunt estimation implying that he himself was not so fervently committed to the project? One can hardly say. He had every reasons to cheat, which in fact he did, but his arguments were valid after all.

In any case Kaulla had more than one competitors to deal with. As Ottoman reaction temporarily gave way several entrepreneurs appeared on the scene. Pears, a lawyer representing several British banking houses, Dimitrachi Effendi Yenidounia, a certain Daleggio and Lafayette de Freize expressed their interest in taking over the junction project, but only the last bidder was given serious consideration. De Freize, as mentioned above, represented an American banking house, the "Silkmann Bros", and was willing to construct a track running from Velea to Servia via Monastir on terms similar to those in use in Asia Minor. The idea was not unattractive to the Ottoman government, as they had been currently searching for the best possible option which would leave the trade of Salonika intact. Of course, the line was not a "junction

21. AYE/KY/1888/B/30, N. Diligiannis to S. Dragoumis, 27 Oct. 1888, No. 1895; 5 Nov. 1888, No. 1987; 9 Nov. 1888, No. 2017.

22. AYE/PK/1906/6, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 12 Oct. 1888, No. 3030.

23. AYE/KY/1888/B/30, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 17 Oct. 1888, No. 3073. Apparently the reference is made to the 1888 loan. With the assistance of the Deutsche Bank, all the bonds were bought by German investors, see: Pamuk, *Ottoman Empire and European capitalism*, 74.

24. AYE/KY/1888/B/30, N. Diligiannis to S. Dragoumis, Paris, 13 Nov. 1888, No. 2040.

one"; according to the contract put forward by de Freize a connection branch was optional. Therefore, Kâmil Pasha, the Grand Vezir, hurried to reassure the Greeks that the construction of the Velesa-Servia domestic line and negotiations for the junction would proceed at the same time, so that the two countries would reach "the result they both wished for"²⁵.

Rumors that the de Freize contract would soon be passed by the Cabinet meeting stirred excitement in southern Macedonia²⁶. But the rebuff was soon to follow. Despite the favourable odds, the answer of the Palace was negative. However, the traditional military and commercial arguments, i.e. the Porte's interest in the exploitation of the Salonika port and the General Staff's military concerns, were only one side of the coin²⁷. Kaulla's manoeuvres were the other one. As soon as de Freize withdrew, the German banker rushed to submit a new project, more realistic from the military point of view than his coastal one. Actually his new line was not in many ways different from what de Freize had proposed. The project was approved by the Palace officials but surprisingly, few days later it was reshaped. The Palace was positive once again. Thus the project was passed over to the Cabinet, among the members of which the idea of a junction line had gained a few supporters, especially in view of the international pressure²⁸. It seems reasonable to assume that the German banker had used effectively his influence with the Sultan—as he had boasted in the past—not only to stem the American project but to promote his own case as well.

For Kaulla getting over with the Turks was not enough to bring the case off; in fact, it was just the tip of the iceberg. The Greeks too had to be handled, and this was an issue too delicate to tackle. But Kaulla was not alone. After having undermined the Austro-French cooperation, he approached the Comptoir d'Escompt which was interested in taking over the construction of the Piraeus-Larissa line. The French representatives, Biedermann and Vitali, visited Athens but failed to get through successfully. Trikoupi refused to sign the contract, unless the company guaranteed to pay the divided coupons

25. AYE/PK/1906/6, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 28 Nov. 1888, No. 3493. AYE/KY/1888/B/30, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 14 Nov. 1888, No. 3366; 7 Dec. 1888, No. 3597.

26. *Pharos tis Makedonias*, 1293/7 Dec. 1888. AYE/KY/1889/B/30/1, Dokos to S. Dragoumis, Salonika, 24 Dec. 1888, No. 1711.

27. *Pharos tis Makedonias*, 1302/14 Jan. 1889.

28. AYE/PK/1906/6, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 9 Jan. 1889, No. 45; 11 Jan. 1889, No. 66. AYE/KY/1889/B/i, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 16 Jan. 1889, No. 116.

of the Greek railway loan, in case the connection of the Greco-Turkish networks was postponed. Although Kaulla had assured the Greek government that the connection would be secured, if Vitali's terms were accepted, Vitali himself was not willing to consent. In Constantinople, his next stop, the French entrepreneur reminded Ambassador Andreas Koundouriotis that it was only due to Kaulla that the Porte had granted its permission. He added that the German banker was reluctant to proceed, unless the Greek part was given to the French. Few days later Kaulla himself mentioned that Ottoman promises could never be taken for granted. The Turks could easily change their minds and eventually reject the junction; thus, he confided, the Greek term could not be accepted. However, he boasted that, if the junction was ever to be made, the concession would be granted to himself. Koundouriotis was well aware that Kaulla's influence with the Sultan was deliberately over-emphasised to blackmail Trikoupis; but, in any case, negotiations did not last long. Two weeks later, due to a major financial crisis in France, all discussions were interrupted²⁹.

However, railway fever in Athens was still high. In late March, in four consecutive sessions, the parliament discussed and agreed, in majority, to issue bonds for the amount of 80 million francs, which would be invested on the construction of the Piraeus-Larissa line. The opposition argued that the amount was excessive, given the fact that the Porte, which lacked financial motivation, had not yet approved the junction. They warned the government that such an action would inevitably weaken the Greek position in future negotiations: Greece would be in such a rush to pay off the debt, that Turkey would be able to impose any terms regarding the junction. There was also the risk that the Turks would be content with just a local military line, from Skopje to Serbia, and the Greeks would be left with an annual interest of five million francs and without a mile of a junction line. Premier Trikoupis and his Foreign Minister maintained that for military and financial reasons or under European pressure, the Ottoman Empire would be forced to build a track until the border. However, Trikoupis claimed, the Turks were not in a position to secure a foreign loan for such a construction, unless they consented to the junction³⁰.

29. AYE/PK/1906/6, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 11 Jan. 1889, No. 66; 1 Feb. 1889 and 8 Feb. 1889 both without ref. numbers. AYE/KY/1889/B/i, Koundouriotis to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 6 Mar. 1889, No. 629.

30. E.S.V., eleventh period, special synod, 20 Mar. 1889, 225-228, 230-231; 21 Mar. 1889, 248, 251; 23 Mar. 1889, 292-293.

Soon enough developments showed that Trikoupis had few reasons to be optimistic. After Kaulla's withdrawal the Porte exercised considerable and constant pressure on the Salonika Chamber of Commerce to take a decision against the future railway connection of the two states. In spite of the Greek Consul's efforts to influence the Jewish merchant community, the Chamber made a negative recommendation. Bulgarian merchants and other "equally narrow-minded" persons joined the Turks partly for other commercial interests but chiefly because they were afraid to oppose openly the will of the Provincial Governor, the Porte and the Sultan who, according to a source, had personal financial reasons to check the connection³¹.

Around the same time a British engineer, Willoughby Furnivall, who represented a British-Ottoman consortium, proposed another junction line running from Giannitsa to Kalambaka, via Naousa, Veroia, the Aliakmon basin, Servia and the Sarandaporo pass. Furnivall offered an advance of £250.000 and probably he was given permission for a survey; but no further steps were taken since the whole project was extremely expensive for the Turks³². Evidently the Porte did not want to discourage foreign investors on the junction issue but simultaneously was doing everything in its power to prevent the realisation of such a scheme.

Submission of applications went on throughout 1889 and 1890. Alfred Kaulla, the Ottoman and foreign press, even the Grand Vezir himself encouraged such applications but always to no avail³³. In late October 1890 Kaulla's attempts to build a line in the Balkans were crowned with success; yet it was not the junction he had wished for. A decree was issued authorising the German banker to construct 136 miles of track, from Salonika to Monastir via Veroia, on the promise of a 14.300 franc annual kilometric guarantee³⁴.

The Greeks were definitely less lucky than Alfred Kaulla but by far more

31. AYE/PK/1906/6, Dokos to S. Dragoumis, Salonika, 21 Apr. 1889, No. 506; 13 May 1889, No. 616; AYE/PK/1889/Consulates in Macedonia, 13 May 1889, No. 627. Public Record Office (PRO), Foreign Office (FO) 195/1654, Blunt to Salisbury, Salonika, 14 May 1889, ff. 221-222; "Report of the Salonika Chamber of Commerce on the Proposed Greek-Turkish Railway Junction, Salonique 2/14 May 1889", ff. 236-237.

32. AYE/PK/1906/6, Dokos to S. Dragoumis, Salonika, 13 May 1889, No. 616; Dokos to N. Mavrokordatos, Salonika, 7 June 1892, No. 494. *Pharos tis Makedonias*, 1334/13 May 1889.

33. *Pharos tis Makedonias*, 1383/29 Nov. 1889; 1413/17 Mar. 1890; 1415/24 Mar. 1890; 1456/1 Sept. 1890; 1483/15 Dec. 1890. AYE/PK/1906/6, N. Mavrokordatos to Trikoupis, Constantinople, 15 Jan. 1890, No. 143. N. Mavrokordatos to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople; 19 May 1890, No. 1528; 26 May 1890, No. 1619.

34. Young, *op. cit.*, iv 113.

optimistic and, as usual, unrealistic. It seems that they were not prepared to take "no" for an answer. In July 1889, amidst a serious deterioration of Greco-Turkish relations, a British consortium of capitalists had already taken over the construction of the Piraeus-Larissa line. In September of the same year the assignment was confirmed by royal decree. In May 1890 the bonds were eventually issued but the credibility of the Greek economy had deteriorated considerably in spite of Trikoupis's great expectations. Actually only the 65 per cent of the bonds were sold to C. J. Hambro and Sons and to the German National Bank. In the following months of 1890 financial weakness and political instability, due to developments in Crete, led to Trikoupis's fall. In October he was succeeded by Theodoros Diligiannis, but the change of cabinet failed to improve either Greek credibility or relations with the Ottoman Empire. The new Premier had few, if any, chances to deal with the issue of the railway connection. His irresponsible opposition during Trikoupis's rule had piled up more problems than he could possibly handle³⁵.

In May 1892 Trikoupis was restored in power. Before the end of that month an engineer, Paul R. Krause, was sent by the Ottoman Bank to prepare another survey for a junction, from Platý to Kalambaka, via Giannitsa, Naousa, Veroia, and the Aliakmon basin. Krause also began a study of a coastal route. The latter, however, according to George Dokos, the Greek Consul General in Salonika, did not offer any financial advantages and could be well served by the existing coastal boat service³⁶. Trikoupis's government assisted Krause in every possible way. Apparently the Greeks were particularly sensitive to such an Ottoman move, not only because they wanted at last to get over with the junction project but also because Krause had proved that all those rumors for a Salonika-Sofia railway line, via Sidirokastro (Demir Hissar) were true. Needless to say, these news had alarmed the Greek Foreign Ministry which was well aware of the detrimental political implications on the national struggle in Macedonia. The Greek Embassy in Constantinople did its best to undermine the rapprochement and "demonstrate the political targets of Bulgaria". But in fact there was no need to worry, since the Ottoman War Office wished to back neither Greek nor Bulgarian claims in Macedonia. Thus, the *irade* was no sooner issued than withdrawn³⁷.

35. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 129. Aspreas, *op. cit.*, ii 186-199.

36. AYE/PK/1906/6, Dokos to N. Mavrokordatos, Salonika, 7 June 1892, No. 494; 15 June 1892, No. 528.

37. *Pharos tis Makedonias*, 1610/6 June 1892, AYE/PK/1906/6, S. Dragoumis to N. Mavrokordatos, Athens, 10 June 1892, No. 667; Mavrokordatos to S. Dragoumis, Con-

However, the Greeks did not sit back. After the Bulgarian threat had been removed, Foreign Minister Stephanos Dragoumis asked Evgenios Zalokostas, the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople, to look again on the matter of the junction. He wrote that "Greece, being a European state, had every legal right to ask for access", Turkey should stop "acting peevishly" and the Great Powers should press the Porte in favour of the Greeks. Then, he revealed to Zalokostas that the government had been trying to sell out the Piraeus-Larissa line, which was being built on a loan, to a major company. Were they to secure Ottoman approval for the junction, bargains with the company would be extremely facilitated³⁸.

Zalokostas met with Krause and he was provided with detailed information on the prospects. According to Krause, the alternative routes were three: (a) The starting point would be on the Salonika-Skopje line. The railway track would follow the course of the Salonika-Monastir line and would go south to Larissa, via Platamona and the Tempi Valley. (b) The starting point would be on the Salonika-Monastir line, thence would run to Kalambaka, via Servia and Velemisti. (c) The starting point would be the same with (b) but would end in Larissa, passing through Servia. Krause mentioned that the first route was by far less expensive but also vulnerable to sea attacks. The third option was preferable to the Greeks but the construction of the Ottoman part would be a heavy financial burden for any constructor. Evidently the only option left was the second and, according to Krause, it had to be the focus of all Greco-Turkish negotiations³⁹.

However, in the following months, Trikoupis and his successors, Sotirios Sotiropoulos and Dimitrios Rallis, had much more serious problems to deal with, namely the mounting financial deficit which was getting out of hand. To make things worse, in mid 1893 the British company, which was building the Piraeus-Larissa line, ran out of capital, while the Greek state had already used the railway loan to cover part of the budget deficit. In October 1893 Trikoupis returned to power, but the only thing left to be done to restore Greek finances was to declare the state bankrupt⁴⁰.

The year which followed December 10th 1893, the official day of bankruptcy, was certainly not the best of Trikoupis's political life. The fierce at-

Constantinople, 24 June 1892, No. 1215; S. Dragoumis to E. Zalokostas, Athens, 10 July 1892, No. 838; E. Zalokostas to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 19 July 1892, No. 1424.

38. AYE/PK/1906/6, S. Dragoumis to Zalokostas, Athens, 8 Aug. 1892, No. 8989.

39. AYE/PK/1906/6, Zalokostas to S. Dragoumis, Constantinople, 13 Sept. 1892, No. 1830.

40. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 129.

tacks of the opposition, the frequent rallies in the capital and the interference of the palace accelerated his downfall (January 1895)⁴¹. It goes without saying that political upheaval and financial crisis did not favour any additional approaches to the Porte at a time when numerous European entrepreneurs were bombarding the Ottoman government with various railway projects. As the construction of the Salonika-Monastir line had reached its final stage and the Salonika-Constantinople junction was steadily progressing, an English contractor, a certain Bright, backed by the French, suggested to build an extension line from Monastir to the Adriatic coast. Ambassador Nikolaos Mavrokordatos pointed out that all these lines running from Constantinople to the west were threatening to isolate the Greek kingdom. He suggested that Bright should be "convinced" that it was to his benefit to combine his project with a Greco-Turkish junction and a line running southward to Piraeus. Not surprisingly Bright was not convinced. It seems that no argument was strong enough to persuade foreign investors, especially at a time when Greece had failed to compromise with the constructor of the Piraeus-Larissa line and had detained the two million franc guarantee⁴².

Despite European indifference and Greek shortage of capital, Theodoros Diligiannis, the new Prime Minister, was not prepared to stay aloof. It is reasonable to maintain that the mass invasion of Bulgarian bands in Macedonia from the early spring 1895 had disturbed the Greek cabinet which lacked the financial means to sustain the Greek presence in Macedonia intact⁴³. This time the task to prepare a study was assigned to the War Office, which so far had been left out. Indeed, in April 1895, the War Minister, General Ioannis Papadiamantopoulos, complained to the Foreign Minister because, so far, railway tracks had been planned without taking into account Greek military considerations. He mentioned that the commercial interests of the unredeemed brethren had to be sacrificed for the security of the Greek state. Therefore he suggested that the only line which could be accepted by the Greek army was the coastal one, via Platamon and Tempi. However, he realised that the Turks would never agree on such a line. All the other routes, in case of war against the Ottoman Empire, would be vulnerable. Moreover, they were longer

41. Aspreas, *op. cit.*, ii 197-202.

42. AYE/PK/1906/6, N. Mavrokordatos to Foreign Minister, Constantinople, 11 Feb. 1894, No. 280. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 129-130.

43. Kostantinos A. Vakalopoulos, *I Makedonia stis paramones tou Makedonikou Agona (1894-1904)* [Macedonia on the Eve of the Macedonian Struggle] (Thessaloniki, 1986), 55-62.

and therefore the diversion of the Indian mail —the Greek fervent wish— was by no means guaranteed⁴⁴.

Despite Papadiamantopoulos's view, Greece decided to proceed with another approach. This time they hoped not only to convince the Porte to accept a railway connection, but also to impose the coastal line. Shortly afterwards lieutenant-colonel of Artillery Nikolaos Pournaras undertook to prepare a memoir showing that Greece had only financial reasons in mind in proposing a coastal track. Indeed, in his account all Greek military arguments were replaced by financial considerations. He claimed that such a junction would be harmless to Salonika; indeed, it might even be profitable! Later on that year (1895) Pournaras was sent on a mission in Macedonia and thence to Constantinople, where he was granted an audience by the Grand Vezir. After discussing the situation in Macedonia the conversation turned to the issue of the railway connection. The Grand Vezir listened carefully to Pournaras's "financial arguments", stressed the importance of a junction and then sent the officer over to the Minister for Public Works⁴⁵.

Diligiannis hurried to authorise Pournaras to negotiate with the Ottoman Minister but advised him to use strictly "commercial arguments" and not reveal Greek military considerations⁴⁶. Unfortunately, we lack further evidence on this approach, a fact which might be linked to Pournaras's sudden death—he was just 50 years old—in September 1895. Anyway, the Turks were determined not to add a single mile of track to the south of Macedonia and the fighting in Crete and Macedonia certainly did not favour a shift of policy in favour of Greece. Besides, the Diligiannis government, amidst all financial burdens and political entanglements, had to prepare for the first modern Olympics. However, the successful organisation of the games and the civilised European image that Greece tried to cultivate for the occasion was just one side of the coin. The irredentist passions excited by the powerful *Ethniki Etairia* (National Society) was the other.

It is not the purpose of this paper to follow Greek revolutionary activities which developed in Crete and Macedonia under the auspices of the National Society and eventually led to the 1897 Greco-Turkish War. The Greek defeat and humiliation shocked the nation. However, the shock was not that strong

44. AYE/PK/1906/6, Papadiamantopoulos to Foreign Minister, Athens, 5 Apr. 1895, No. 2.

45. AYE/PK/1906/20, N. Mavrokordatos to Foreign Minister, Constantinople, 25 July 1895, No. 604; Diligiannis to N. Mavrokordatos, Athens, 29 Aug. 1895, No. 9050.

46. AYE/PK/1906/6, Diligiannis to N. Mavrokordatos, Athens, 29 Aug. 1895, No. 9050.

to make Greeks see that Ottoman diplomats and members of the General Staff were competent enough to decide what was good for the Empire. It was evident that Turkey had gained a considerable military advantage after the construction of the Salonika-Monastir and the Salonika-Alexandroupolis (Dede-Agatch) junction line which justified the traditional Ottoman policy against a southern railway connection and would continue to weigh heavily, at least as long as Greece lacked a line to the border⁴⁷. Nevertheless, Greek diplomats thought that they were clever enough to convince the Porte to accept a railway connection in the context of the treaty which ended the 1897 war, just a few months after the cease-fire⁴⁸.

In spite of the Ottoman refusal, the Greeks, like so many times in the past, did not give up hope and repeated direct and indirect approaches, either to the Porte or to foreign diplomats. In 1900 Premier George Theotokis, a nobleman from Corfu, and Baron George de Reuter, the representative of a railway construction syndicate, signed a convention for the completion of the Piraeus-Demerli line (the latter being a station to the south of Larissa), which had been abandoned six years earlier. Work on the track started only three years later and revived hopes that a junction with the Ottoman network was still possible. Indeed, in 1903, during a parliamentary debate, the issue of the connection surfaced again and, surprisingly, after 25 years of fruitless negotiations, when the dream of the Indian Mail was completely out of date, there were deputies who still believed that the intentions of Turkey had not yet been clarified. Theotokis was one of them⁴⁹.

In February 1904, when the first part of the Piraeus-Demerli line had at last reached its final stage, Premier Theotokis directed the Foreign Ministry to approach immediately the Porte and persuade the Turks to grant permission for a junction line via Tempi and Katerini. He was convinced that the coastal route was the cheapest possible and hoped that Greek arguments were strong enough to bend Ottoman reservations⁵⁰. Instructions were forwarded to the

47. Actually the line was ready just in time for the war and naturally during warfare it attracted the interest of Greek saboteurs. See Georgios Th. Lyritzis, *I Ethniki Etairia kai i drasis autis* [National Society and its Activity] (Kozani, 1970), 123. F.O. 195/1988, Blunt to Foreign Minister, Salonika, 18 Apr. 1897, ff. 344, 347.

48. AYE/PK/1906/6, Zalokostas to Foreign Minister, Constantinople, 18 May 1899, No. 1101.

49. *Loc. cit.* AYE/PK/1906/6, N. Mavrokordatos to Foreign Minister, Constantinople, 13 Sept. 1899, No. 2119. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 130-132. E.S.V., sixteenth period, first synod, 6 Mar. 1903, p. 540; 14 May 1903, pp. 1364-1365.

50. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 132. AYE/1906/20, Theotokis to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 10 Feb. 1904, No. 98.

Embassy the following day and shortly afterwards de Reuter and J. Guin, members of the Administrative Council of the Piraeus-Demerli construction company, rushed to Constantinople to assist the new Greek approach⁵¹. They were both granted audience by the Grand Vezir who accepted their proposals with almost no resistance after a short debate. Of course, the Grand Vezir suggested that details should be discussed later on, after the completion of the Greek part of the line⁵².

Apparently aware that Ottoman officials had a long tradition of going back on promises, Theotokis's cabinet thought it was advisable to activate simultaneous foreign pressure. The embassies in Paris and Vienna were informed on February 21, 1904 on the new round of negotiations and were asked to secure French and Austrian support respectively. France was quick to respond since French capitalists were heavily involved in Greek railway business. But Count Goluchowski, the Austrian Foreign Minister, was rather reluctant to promise his assistance. He claimed that the Austrian Ambassador in Constantinople was intensely engaged in the Macedonian reform scheme and could not spare a minute of his time. The Greek Ambassador suggested that, although the railway question itself was irrelevant to the Macedonian Question, Austrians could present both to the Sultan as a package deal: if the Porte would be willing to consent to the railway connection, Greece would continue to conduct a friendly policy in Macedonia and the loyalty of the Sultan's Greek subjects would be assured⁵³.

It is hard to say whether Austrians responded quickly to the Greek proposal but it seems that between spring 1904 and late 1906 they had tried not more than once to back the Greeks, though unsuccessfully. In November 1906, King George I of Hellenes met with Aehrenthal, who had just succeeded in office Goluchowski. The Piraeus-Demerli line had been ready for two years and the final part, from Demerli to the border, via Larissa, was under construction. Aehrenthal, satisfied because the Greek monarch had first sought the support of Austria-Hungary and aware of the prolonged Greek railway drama, offered to take the matter of the junction up to the Porte⁵⁴.

51. AYE/PK/1906/20, Romanos to Gryparis, Athens, 11 Feb. 1904, No. 2546; 13 Feb. 1904, Recommendation.

52. AYE/PK/1906/20, Gryparis to Romanos, Constantinople, 18 Feb. 1904, No. 399.

53. AYE/PK/1906/20, Romanos to the Hellenic Legation in Vienna, Athens, 21 Feb. 1904; Romanos to the Hellenic Legation in Paris, Athens, 21 Feb. 1904; Delyannis to Romanos, Paris, 2 Mar. 1904; Manos to Romanos, Vienna, 25 Feb. 1904, No. 102.

54. Papagiannakis, *op. cit.*, 132. Solomon Wank, "Aehrenthal and the Sanjak of Novi-bazar Railway Project: Reappraisal", *Slavonic and East European Review*, 42 (1963-64), 363.

Of course, Aehrenthal's offer was not a pure act of good will. In 1906 the Austrians were working hard to convince the Turks to give permission for the notorious Novibazar railway line. He thought it was a good idea to connect the two projects just for the occasion, although the Greek one was chiefly of British and French interest. In this way he tried to show that Austria had a wider interest in Balkan railways and not only in the *Sanjak* of Novibazar scheme. Pallavicini, the Austrian Ambassador in Constantinople, advised his Foreign Minister to refrain from a second attempt to assist the Greeks. One denial, he wrote, was enough. Aehrenthal kept his promise but Pallavicini proved right⁵⁵. The Turks had not changed their minds yet, nor were they going to change them until the very last day of the Ottoman presence in Macedonia. Despite the rumors for new lines and the petitions of the Greek local population, not a mile of track was laid⁵⁶. It proved easier for the Greeks to win a war against the Turks, the First Balkan War, than to persuade them accept a junction scheme.

Apparently the Greek Foreign Ministry had used all the available strategies, either combined or each by turn, and should not be blamed, at least for lack of flexibility. It should also be kept in mind that Greek interest in railway connection was not an exclusive target of Trikoupis's policy. All the governments from the mid 1870s to the Balkan Wars were equally concerned with the grim prospect of Greece's complete isolation. Koumoundouros, Diligiannis and Theotokis did not neglect the issue either, though they could not match Trikoupis's obsession with public works. But then one should ask why the Greeks had failed, if the steps taken by the diplomats were the appropriate ones and all the cabinets were truly devoted to the cause. In general, the Ottoman Empire, especially before 1888, was never a keen supporter of international railway communication. Railways were apparently the main instrument of European penetration and would undoubtedly undermine the unity of the Sultan's domains. In this particular case, Turkey not only lacked financial interest but also had specific military arguments against a junction project, especially a coastal one. In addition, European governments, having realised how delicate the issue was, were extremely reluctant to favour any Greek military schemes which might harm Ottoman strategic plans and thus

55. Wank, *op. cit.*, 355-356, 365 and note 47. For the diplomatic manoeuvres concerning the Novibazar project see also: Arthur J. May, "The Novibazar Railway Project", *Journal of Modern History*, 10 (1938), 496-527 and René Pinon, "La crise balkanique: chemins de fer et réformes", *Revue des deux mondes*, 5th series, 45 (1908), 143-176.

56. *Alitheia*, 918/3 Mar. 1909. *Makedonia* 34/13 Aug. 1911.

refrained from exercising all their influence. To make things worse the condition of the Greek economy was not particularly appealing to Europeans, while political instability did not favour business either. Blackmails and other intrigues, which were used by foreign investors, also created mistrust between the Greek state and the construction companies. Finally, the traditional hostile relations between the two neighbouring states and the continuous outbursts of the Cretan and Macedonian Questions undermined any chance to create a friendly climate, which was the necessary precondition for overcoming old prejudices.

However, it is worth wondering about the reasons which stimulated and perpetuated attempts for more than three decades, since it was obvious, almost from the start, that the Porte had strong arguments against the junction. First of all one should take seriously into account the irredentist and romantic atmosphere which dominated Greek foreign policy and kept alive the most unrealistic dreams. Local pressure for the creation of a modern financial infrastructure was another factor. In this context, Greece had to keep the junction question open in order to attract the interest of foreign railway construction companies and achieve better terms. Defensive considerations, especially after the humiliating experiences of 1885 and 1897, also necessitated such a construction. Pressure was also exercised from Macedonia, where the Bulgarian advance threatened Greek interests. Last but not least, the Turks themselves also cultivated the idea, more often with words than with facts, that a junction was possible after all and never left the Greek ambassadors and the construction companies without a hope. Ottoman officials promised year after year "to look seriously into the matter", "to do their best", "to influence" their colleagues and justify Greek expectations. To make matters worse, European capitalists and ministers provided the Greeks with additional hopes.

Ottoman and European encouragement kept Greek aspirations alive for some 35 years, despite the obvious and formidable obstacles. Greek politicians never gave up hope that there was still ground for negotiations. They showed lack of realism and this led them take Turkish and European reassurances and rumors at their face value⁵⁷. Therefore the question arises how they hoped to overcome Turkish reluctance. Initially the matter was in the hands of the ambassador in Constantinople who tried direct contacts with Ottoman

57. Even a Greek newspaper in Salonika mentioned that "if Greeks are interested in railway connection then, they should drop their claims over Crete". See *Alitheia*, 834/12 Nov. 1908.

Ministers, either for Foreign or for Domestic Affairs, and met occasionally with the Minister for Public Works but to no avail. He even approach the Grand Vezir himself, but with no better results. The failure of direct contacts necessitated the use of certain go-betweens. Greek ambassadors in almost all the European capitals did their best to attract the interest of the Great Powers on the railway junction issue. Even King George was mobilised for the same cause. They collected only promises. European pressure was never strong enough to change Turkish minds. Even the Austrians, who had both the motives and the influence, failed. More decisive was the use of entrepreneurs as intermediaries. European capitalists or famous engineers, who had strong links with the Ottoman cabinet, like de Freize, Kaulla, Krause and de Reuter, played a considerable role in Greco-Ottoman railway negotiations; indeed they were the only men who had some chance of persuading the Turks. They, too, failed.

As often has been the case Greek statesmen deceived themselves in believing that a Christian and European state like Greece could count on European support. Moreover, they believed that constant European pressure, frequent friendly visits of the ambassadors to the Ottoman ministries and friendly conversations with officials was the appropriate strategy to persuade the Turks to act against their profound national interests and permit a junction, while Greek revolutionary activities in Crete and Macedonia were a constant threat to the integrity of the Empire. Had the Greeks realised in time the incoherence of their tactics, the superficiality of their arguments, and the inconsistency of their irredentist dreams with the political and financial realities of the time they would have achieved a much more sensible and balanced foreign policy towards both Turkey and Europe.

*Museum of the Macedonian Struggle
Salonika*

B. KONDIS

THE NORTHERN EPIRUS QUESTION
DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The outbreak of World War I found Albania in a chaotic situation. The revolt of the Moslem inhabitants of Central Albania had made the position of Prince William of Wied highly precarious¹. The Prince had no authority beyond the confines of Durazzo and needed economic assistance. The great powers, however, were in no position to intervene and the Prince on 3 September 1914 abandoned his Kingdom².

The departure of William of Wied left Albania in the barest shadow of legal government. Northern Albania was under the control of local chieftains, while the Moslem insurgents controlled central Albania and wished to reestablish Turkish rule in the country with the assistance of the Young Turks³.

The activities of the insurgents caused great concern to Venizelos who was afraid that they might extend their activities to Northern Epirus thus coming to a clash with the local population. This fear forced the Greek prime minister to consider the reoccupation of Northern Epirus in order to prevent violence against the Greek population by the Moslem irregulars⁴. The situation, however, was greatly complicated by the well-known Italian interest towards Albania. At this point the Italian government wished for strategic reasons to take hold of the harbor of Valona which it had long coveted⁵. Thus, the Italians notified the great powers that Italy, as the sole signatory of the Statute creating the Albanian State which had not become involved in the war, was the proper Power to take steps to prevent the occupation of Albanian territory⁶.

1. Basil Kondis, *Greece and Albania, 1908-1914*, Thessaloniki 1976, pp. 128-132; Gazmed Shpuza, *Kryengritja fshatare e Shqipërisë së mesme 1914-1915* (The Peasant revolt in central Albania, 1914-1915), Tirana 1986, pp. 77-78.

2. J. Swire, *Albania: The Rise of a Kingdom*, London 1930, pp. 230-232.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Public Record Office. Foreign Office (FO) 195/2245/45, Vice-Consul at Monastir to Constantinople Embassy, Monastir, 6 July 1914.

5. FO 421/294, nos. 94 and 95, Elliot to Grey, Athens, 12 and 14 October 1914.

6. Ministero degli affari esteri, *I documenti diplomatici italiani* (DDI), 5th Series: 1914-1918, Volume I, Rome 1954, nos. 837 and 880.

Undoubtedly Rome was looking for a pretext to occupy Valona as compensation for a possible territorial expansion of Austria-Hungary in the Balkans.

The Italian pressures forced the Entente powers to approve the occupation of Valona. Edward Grey, however, pointed out to the Italian government that the state of anarchy prevailing in Northern Epirus had transformed that region into a field where bands of Moslem irregulars organized predatory raids and exerted violence against the Christian population, and that it was necessary therefore that the Greek government should likewise be authorized to send military forces to Northern Epirus, in order to prevent massacres⁷. The Italians were not so eager to consent to Greece's occupation of Northern Epirus. However, the reluctance of Italy to Greek intervention was overcome on the understanding that the step was taken only in the interests of order, that the decisions of the Ambassadors' Conference regarding Albania were still valid, that the occupation was temporary, that Greek forces would evacuate the area on demands by the Allies and that Greece accepted the occupation of Valona by the Italians⁸. Thus, at the end of October with the consent of the Entente Powers Greece reoccupied Northern Epirus, while at the same time Italy occupied the island of Sasseno and two months later Valona and its hinterland⁹.

At this point and especially after the entrance of Turkey in the War on the side of the Central Powers and the second occupation of Belgrade by the Austrians, the Entente Powers, on 5 December 1914, offered the whole of Northern Epirus to Greece in order to induce her to abandon its neutrality and enter the war on their side¹⁰. These negotiations brought no concrete results as Venizelos asked for guarantees against an attack by Bulgaria, especially Rumania's guarantee¹¹. After the Italian occupation of Valona, on 28 January 1915, Great Britain, France and Russia, for the purpose of indicating to Albania and the other Balkan states that they had not disinterested themselves in Albania, and in order to reserve their rights of modifying at a

7. FO 371/2009/55845, Grey to Rodd, London, 6 October 1914 and FO 371/2009/57096, Rodd to Grey, Rome 7 October 1914; DDI, 5th Series, I no. 886.

8. Archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry (A.Y.E.), 1914, A/5, Report of general Papoula to Foreign Ministry, Premeti, 1 November 1914.

9. Pietro Pastorelli, *L'Albania nella politica estera italiana, 1914-1917*, Naples 1970, pp. 18-20.

10. FO 371/2241/269, Elliot to Grey, Athens, 7 December 1914.

11. Eleutherios Venizelos, *The Vindication of Greek National Policy*, London 1918, p. 76.

later date and concurrently with Italy, the position set up by the London Conference of Ambassadors in 1913, decided to urge the Greek, Serbian and Montenegrin governments to abstain from any intervention in Albania unless absolutely necessary to protect themselves against an attack from that country, as the Allies reserved to themselves the right to decide, when peace was re-established as to the definitive regime¹². Also, Italy was informed of this step, and was asked not to extend her sphere of action on the Albanian coast.

Despite the attitude of the Entente Powers and the fact that Greek occupation of Northern Epirus was temporary, Venizelos believed that the whole problem would be solved to Greece's favor. This belief was further strengthened after the signing of the Treaty of London on 26 April 1915 and the concessions made by the Entente Powers to Italy in order to enter the war on their side. Article 6 of the Treaty granted to Italy full sovereignty over Valona, the island of Sasseno and surrounding territory of sufficient extent to assure the defence of those points from the Voiussa to the north and east approximately to the northern boundary of the district of Himara on the south. In article 7 of the same instrument Italy undertook that, if she obtained Istria, Trentino and Dalmatia and if the central position of Albania were reserved for the establishment of a small autonomous neutralized state, she would not oppose the award of Northern Epirus to Greece and the division of northern Albania between Serbia and Montenegro. Italy, who was to be charged with the conduct of the foreign relations of Albania, also agreed to leave sufficient territory to the east of Albania to ensure the existence of a frontier line between Greece and Serbia to the west of Lake Ochrida. The coast from the southern boundary of the Italian territory of Valona, as far as Cape Stylos was to be neutralized¹³.

The negotiations which preceded the Treaty show that by central Albania was meant the Moslem regions then ruled over by Essad Pasha, the chieftain of the region, the main catholic area of Scutari and Mirditia being left to Serbia to provide her with an access to the sea, and Northern Epirus being left to Greece.

The terms of the Treaty of London soon became known to the Albanian nationalist leaders who decided to form national committees with the objective

12. FO 371/2238, Note of the Entente Powers, London, 28 January 1915.

13. J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near East: A Documentary Record: 1914-1966*, Vol. 1, Princeton 1956, pp. 11-12. For the Albanian Problem and the Treaty of London, Pastorelli, *L'Albania nella politica estera italiana*, pp. 19-32; Muin Çami, *Shqipëria në marrëdhëniet ndërkombëtare, 1914-1918* (Albania in international affairs, 1914-1918), Tirana 1987, pp. 145-152.

to stop partition of their country. Such committees were formed in Durazzo, in Scutari and in places outside Albania, as in Bucharest, in Sophia, in the United States and even in Switzerland. Their political objectives were: to secure the independence of Albania as proclaimed in November 1912, to protect the territorial integrity of the Albanian state as defined by the Ambassador's Conference in London and to include to the frontiers of the state all Albanian regions which were left outside as a result of the decision of the Great Powers¹⁴. Whereas the Albanian nationalists had common political objectives, there existed no unity among themselves. Some of them favored the Central Powers and others the Entente. However, the majority of them wished to remain neutral in order to protect better the Albanian interests¹⁵.

In the meantime, since the fall of 1914 central Albania was in a great state of anarchy, as a revolt was taking place against Essad Pasha. The insurgents sought to overthrow Essad and govern through local committees under the direction of Turkish officials¹⁶. While Essad Pasha remained besieged at Durazzo, he asked Italy, Greece and Serbia to supply him with arms and munitions¹⁷. The Italian government provided some arms but not enough to enable Essad to defeat the insurgents, and also refused to allow Italian marines to land at Durazzo¹⁸. Venizelos, on his part, despite Italy's opposition, sent rifles and munitions to Essad in Durazzo, delivered by the warship "Eli" which sailed there on the pretext to protect Greek citizens¹⁹. By assisting Essad, Venizelos hoped in return to have his help in the struggle for the realization of Greek national objectives in Albania. However, nothing concrete developed as the Italians protested against the presence of the Greek warship outside Durazzo and Athens was forced to withdraw it in spite of Essad's objections²⁰.

The Serbian government, also, wanted to intervene and help Essad defeat

14. Albanian Academy of Sciences: Institute of History, *Historia e Shqipërisë* (History of Albania), Vol. III, Tirana 1984, p. 162.

15. *Ibid.*

16. J. Swire, Albania: *The Rise of a Kingdom*, p. 239.

17. Çami, *Shqipëria në marrëdhëniet ndërkombëtare*, p. 146; George Leon, "Greece and the Albanian Question at the outbreak of the First World War", *Balkan Studies*, 11.1 (1970), p. 79.

18. Çami, p. 147.

19. A.Y.E., 1915, A/5, no. 105, Psaroudas to Venizelos, Durazzo, 4 January 1915; For the struggle against Essad Pasha see G. Shpuza, *Kryengritja fshatare e Shqipërisë së mesme 1914-1915*, passim.

20. A.Y.E., 1915, A/5, no. 454, Venizelos to Psaroudas, Athens, 14 January 1915.

the insurgents²¹ but at this point, January 1915, the Entente Powers objected to such an operation and Belgrade was forced to postpone the advance of the serbian army into Albania. However, after the signing of the Treaty of London the situation changed drastically as the serbian government thought its interests were threatened in Albania and in the beginning of June the Serbs crossed the frontier and occupied most of the territory controlled by the insurgents including Pogradets, Elbasan and Tirana but not Durazzo which was left under the control of Essad Pasha²². At the same time Montenegrin troops took possession of the whole Scutari region. Thus by summer of 1915 the actual position in Albania corresponded roughly with the terms of the Treaty of London.

When in November 1915, as a consequence of Bulgaria's entry into the war, Serbia was being gradually overrun by enemy forces and it seemed likely that she would have to retreat through Albania, it was of vital importance to the British to have a friendly country through which Allied communications with Serbia could be maintained, thus they proposed that Albania should be promised the formation of an independent Albanian state organized on the cantonal basis under the protection of Italy. This amounted to the extension of the Italian protectorate from the small Moslem state contemplated in the Treaty of London to a state, bounded roughly on the north by the Montenegrin frontier and on the south by a line drawn from the mouth of the river Voiussa to the southern extremity of lake Ochrida, comprising the catholic as well as the Moslem tribes. It was felt that Greek susceptibilities precluded the alteration of the status of Albanian territory south of the line mentioned²³. Naturally the Italians concurred in this arrangement, holding that Montenegrin claims to Scutari could not be overlooked and agreeing that Greece should be left in possession of the line then occupied including Himara and Koritsa²⁴. The French and Russian governments refused, however, to agree to such an extension of the Italian protectorate over Albania, and the proposal was dropped.

In January 1916, after the Austrian conquest of Montenegro and the collapse and retreat of the Serbian army through Albania to Corfu, the Austrian

21. For the relations of Essad Pasha with the Serbian government see Sh. Rahimi, "Marëveshjet e qeverisë serbe me Esad pashë Toptanin gjatë viteve 1914-1915" ("The negotiations of Essad Pasha Toptani with the Serbian government during the period 1914-1915"), *Gjurmime albanologjike*, History, Vol. 6 (1976), Prishtina 1977, passim.

22. Swire, *Albania*, pp. 249-250.

23. FO 371/5726, Paper on British policy on Albania from 1912 to June 1920, London, 12 April 1921.

24. *Ibid.*; S. Sonnino, *Diario, 1914-1916*, Bari 1972, p. 272.

troops overran the greater part of Albania, including Durazzo, while Italy retained control of Valona and Greece of Northern Epirus, as the Austrians did not advance beyond the zone occupied by the Greek army since Greece was still a neutral country.

In the meantime Greece had strengthened her position in Northern Epirus by establishing order and being in good terms with the inhabitants. In the elections of 31 May 1915, won by the Liberal Party, nine deputies from the area were elected in the Greek Parliament but Venizelos did not allow them to take their seats since he wished not to violate the understanding of October 1914²⁵. Yet in August 1915 he declared in the Parliament that "only colossal faults could separate Northern Epirus from Greece"²⁶. However, after the elections of December 1915 and the formation of a government headed by Stefanos Skouloudis deputies from Northern Epirus were allowed to sit in the Parliament. In February 1916, Athens substituted civil officers for the military authorities of occupation and the following month, by Royal Decree, formally annexed Northern Epirus to the Greek Kingdom²⁷. Following this incorporation Italy and the other allied powers made strong representations to Athens as a result of which the Northern Epirot deputies were unseated²⁸.

In the spring of 1916, the question of Northern Epirus was further complicated by the pro-German stand of the Skouloudis government²⁹. The surrender of Fort Roupel to the Bulgarians on 28 May 1916, without offering any real resistance, caused great concern to the Entente Powers, which accused Athens of complicity in the Bulgarian occupation of Roupel and they were convinced that there existed a secret agreement between Greece and the Central Powers³⁰. Moreover, on 21 June, a collective note was presented to the Greek government demanding:

"...

1. The real and complete demobilization of the Greek army, which is to be placed on a peace footing with the least possible delay.

25. Georgios Ventiris, *Η Ελλάδα τον 1910-1920*, Vol. 1, Athens 1929, p. 338.

26. Venizelos, *The Vindication of Greek National Policy*, p. 76.

27. Ph. Philon, *The Question of Northern Epirus*, Washington 1945, p. 15.

28. *Ibid.*

29. For the internal dissension in Greece and her relations with the Great Powers see A. F. Frangoulis, *La Grèce et la crise mondiale*, 2 Vols., Paris 1926; Phocas Cosmetatos, *The Tragedy of Greece*, London 1928; George Leon, *Greece and the Great Powers, 1914-1917*, Thessaloniki 1974.

30. Edouard Driault and Michel Lhéritier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos jours*, Vol. 5: 1908-1923, Paris 1928, p. 242; Leon, *Greece and the Great Powers*, p. 361.

2. The immediate replacement of the present ministry by a caretaker government which would offer all the necessary guarantees for the loyal application of benevolent neutrality.
3. Immediate dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, followed by new elections within the time limit provided for by the Constitution but after general demobilization has restored the electorate to its normal conditions.
4. Replacement, in accord with Powers, of certain police officials whose attitude, inspired by foreign influence, had facilitated assaults on peaceful citizens as well as heaping insults on the Allied legations and their nationals"³¹.

At the same time Italy in a separate note demanded that the demobilization of the Greek army should be applied and in Northern Epirus³². The new prime minister Alexandros Zaimis accepted the Allied demands and the army, including the units in Northern Epirus, was being put on a peace footing³³.

At this juncture Italy, taking advantage of the internal conflict within Greece and the tense relations between the Entente and the Greek government, occupied the districts of Himara, Santi Quaranta, Delvino, Argyrocastro, Premeti, Erseka and Leskoviki on the pretext that the Greek forces could not resist the advance of the Bulgarian army³⁴. It is evident that the surrender of Roupel to the Bulgarians opened the way to the Italian occupation of Northern Epirus. Very illuminating is a report of Lambros Koromilas, minister of Greece at Rome, who reported that the Italians were ready to think that the Greek government would retreat to the Bulgarians in Epirus as it had done in Macedonia³⁵. Moreover, Venizelos declared in the Greek Chamber on 13 August 1917 that the loss of Northern Epirus came as a result of the betrayal in Macedonia and the surrender of Roupel³⁶.

After the establishment of the provisional government on 9 October 1916

31. FO 371/2620/126515, Enclosure, Entente note, 21 June 1916.

32. Edith Stickney, *Southern Albania or Northern Epirus in European International Affairs, 1912-1923*, Stanford California, 1926, p. 63; Leon, *Greece and the Great Powers*, p. 373.

33. Stickney, p. 63.

34. A.Y.E., 1916, A/5/VII, nos. 8921 and 10207, Prefect of Yannina to Foreign Ministry, Yannina, 12 September 1916 and 18 December 1916; FO 371/2623/208316, British Embassy (Elliot) to Foreign Office, Athens, 12 October 1916.

35. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Διπλωματικά Έγγραφα, 1913-1917*, Athens 1920, no. 134, Koromilas to Skouloudis, Rome, 17 May 1916.

36. Eleutherios Venizelos, *Πολιτικά Υποθήκαι*, edited by S. Stefanou, Vol. 2, Athens 1969, p. 64.

at Thessaloniki, Venizelos was once again able to turn his attention to the problem of Northern Epirus. In an interview to the Italian newspaper "Secolo" on 1 December 1916, the prime minister, after explaining that his attitude towards Italy had always been friendly, he noted:

"I consider that our national claims on Northern Epirus are in no way incompatible with the vital interests of Italy, which push her to possess the mastery of the entrance to the Adriatic. This mastery is assured to Italy by the possession of Valona and by that of island of Saseno. As regards Valona so long as December 1913 I had assured the Marquis Di San Giuliano that Greece would be perfectly content with an Italian annexation of Valona. Similarly I had never dreamt of raising difficulties as to the occupation of Sasseno, but Northern Epirus is another matter. Its possession is for us an ethical and patriotic question. Delvino, Argyrocastro and Koritsa have always been true centers of Hellenic civilization. When the Conference of London obliged me to withdraw our troops from Northern Epirus, I obeyed without raising objections. When I again sent troops there I did so, taking advantage of the upheaval produced by the war, after having come to an understanding with the Italian government, not directly, it is true, but through the medium of one of the Powers of the Entente. Believe me, I would never have sent Greek troops into Northern Epirus without the consent of Italy, a consent given me, I repeat, by the intervention of a Power very friendly to you. In any case, I declared to all Powers, the Central Empires included, that the occupation of Northern Epirus on the part of our troops did not imply a desire to establish a fait accompli, that I respected the decisions of the Conference of London, and the question of Northern Epirus ought to be submitted, together with all the other questions, to the general peace conference"³⁷.

Despite Venizelos' conciliatory attitude the Italians extended their occupation to areas of Epirus which comprised part of the Greek Kingdom, moving as far as Yannina. The Greek government, cut off from the Entente, was obliged to agree to the withdrawal of both the civil and the military authorities from the areas occupied by Italy — though this was not done without protest. The situation grew very serious, especially since the Italian authorities did not confine themselves to the military occupation of these regions, but proceeded

37. FO 371/3156/158242, Memorandum on Greco-Italian relations, Foreign Office, 19 August 1918.

to abrogate all the Greek powers of authority, closing the Greek schools, removing Greek flags and raising Italian ones in their place³⁸.

In Epirus popular feeling was strongly Venizelist, the Italians were extremely unpopular and it was generally thought that their policy aimed at the permanent occupation of Epirus. For this reason there was a very keen desire to see the other Allied Powers represented in the occupation as a guarantee of its temporary character³⁹. The Italian occupation was particularly suspect to the Greeks as tending towards the creation of an autonomous Albania, of which the Greeks would constitute a subject and oppressed element. The occupation of Epirus forced the Greeks to make various manifestations against the Italians. This agitation took an acute form in a proclamation by a committee of representatives of Yannina calling the population to arms to resist the Italian advance:

"... the whole of Epirus is in distress on account of the occupation by the Italians of Yannina its capital, and of other parts of the country. If military reasons render necessary the occupation of Epirus, the people can be reassured only by the presence of detachments of the forces of the Protecting Powers, and of authorities of the Provisional government, in whom alone centres the confidence of the Epirotes. In case our demand meets with no hearing, we decline all responsibility for the possible consequences of the acts of the people of Epirus, who have always been noted for their patriotism, and who, in spite of their desire to avoid all conflict with an allied army, and to create no difficulties to the Protecting Powers, are determined to sacrifice themselves to the last man, rather than accept the occupation of their territory by a forcing nation to which they are not bound by any tie whatsoever"⁴⁰.

Meanwhile, on 3 June 1917, at Argyrocastro, the commander of the Italian army in Albania, general Giacinto Ferrero, proclaimed the unity and independence of Albania under the protection of the Italian king⁴¹. This pro-

38. FO 438/10, no. 80, vice-consul Hole to Elliot, Yannina, 6 June 1917; A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 4345, Prefect of Yannina to Foreign Ministry, Arta, 13 June 1917. There are many documents dealing with the persecutions of the Greek population by the Italians in Northern and Southern Epirus.

39. FO 438/10, no. 80, Hole to Elliot, Yannina, 6 June 1917.

40. FO 371/2879, Proclamation of the people of Epirus addressed to the Protecting Powers, Yannina, 5 June 1917.

41. For the text of the proclamation see Swire, *Albania*, pp. 272-273; FO 371/2881/111964, Rodd to Foreign Office, Rome, 4 June 1917.

clamation reflected a change in Italian policy. In 1915, in the Treaty of London, Italy had agreed to share Albania with Serbia and Greece. By 1917, however, she had no intention of doing so; Rome feared the creation of a large Southern Slavic state which might replace Austro-Hungary as her adversary in the Adriatic. Consequently, Italy was determined to put a stop to the Slavic threat by laying claim to as large as possible a part of the Adriatic coast and by creating a large Albanian area between the Slavs and the sea.

This action of the Italian government caused great concern in Greece, as it was considered that Italy was taking advantage of internal Greek strife in order to achieve her old ambitions regarding Epirus. The provisional government at Thessaloniki, expressing its protest to the Protecting Powers noted that the protectorate concerned exclusively Northern Epirus and constituted a flagrant violation of the engagements of Italy towards Greece⁴². Indeed, when in the autumn of 1916 the Italian troops occupied the area, the Italian government gave formal assurances at Athens that the occupation had a purely military character and would not, in any way, modify the international status of Northern Epirus⁴³. While denouncing Ferrero's proclamation the provisional government hoped that "the expected disapprobation of Italian excesses may originate with the Italian nation itself, which, faithful to its liberal traditions, would thus dissociate itself from the responsibility of having desired to become, in its turn, a predatory people"⁴⁴.

At this point, the Serbian government, also, protested against the Italian action and notified the Allied Powers that it favored Albanian autonomy excluding any protectorate in favor of any power⁴⁵. As the Entente Powers had not been consulted beforehand, they did not give any official recognition to the Italian protectorate. Very characteristic is the fact that the Kerensky government, in view of the proclamation about Albania, thought to be desirable that France, Great Britain and Russia should agree to make a collective protest to the Italian government formulated in the following terms:

"That in their opinion the whole Albanian question is a problem which closely affects interest of Albanian nation, of the Allies and of peace.

42. FO 371/2878/117815, Greek Memorandum to Foreign Office, Thessaloniki, 10 June 1917.

43. A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 4242, London Embassy to Foreign Ministry, London, 6 June 1917.

44. FO 371/2878/117815, Greek Memorandum to Foreign Office, Thessaloniki, 10 June 1917.

45. A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, Text of Serbian protest dated 5 June 1917.

That declaration made by Italy without previous consultation with Great Powers allied to her is considered by latter as a unilateral act, by which France, Great Britain and Russia cannot feel themselves bound.

That in consequence governments of Great Britain, France and Russia must reserve to themselves the right to make a definite pronouncement at a later date when time has come"⁴⁶

Despite Russia's desire for a collective protest at Rome nothing concrete developed as the British government had the opinion that there should be no official action taken but unofficially should demand an explanation from the Italians. Indeed the Italian foreign minister Baron Sidney Sonnino gave definite assurances that the proclamation was to be considered as a military episode and that there was no question of a protectorate in the diplomatic sense but only of the protection or guarantee of Albanian independence, with a reserve as regarded Valona. The main objective of Italy was that no other country should establish itself in Albania⁴⁷.

The main concern of Sonnino was to solidify Italian ambitions in Albania, fearing French intentions in the region of Koritsa⁴⁸ and suspecting France's ulterior motives concerning the interior Greek problem. Italy wanted Greece to remain neutral; if the country did not join the Allies, it would not participate in the postwar territorial settlements and Rome would be free to satisfy its aspirations in both the Balkans and in Asia Minor. Thus, as early as June 1916, Italy warned that she would not tolerate Venizelos' return to power⁴⁹.

The Greek leader, knowing Italy's intentions, was not satisfied with Sonnino's assurances and spoke in very strong terms against the Italian action, emphasizing Greece's rights to protect her national interests⁵⁰. The situation was becoming very tense as Sonnino's attitude and his undisguised support of King Constantine put a great strain on Venizelos, who was anxious for a Greco-Italian understanding. However, after the dethronement of King

46. FO 371/2881/114425, British Embassy (Buchanan) to Foreign Office, Petrograd, 6 June 1917.

47. FO 371/2881/115265 and 121793, Rodd to Foreign Office, Rome, 9 and 14 June 1917 respectively.

48. The Koritsa problem will be discussed further down.

49. FO 371/2620/112035, Rodd to Grey, Rome, 7 June 1916; FO 371/2620/110254, Elliot to Grey, Athens, 7 June 1916.

50. FO 371/2879/124629, Elliot to Foreign Office, Athens, 22 June 1917; A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 1176, Genadius (Greek Minister at London) to Balfour (British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), London, 20 June 1917.

Constantine and the return of Venizelos to power, the situation changed completely. The prime minister could propose to Rome an understanding on all matters pending between the two countries. As no strategic reason appeared to justify the military occupation of Epirus, Venizelos asked for its evacuation and the immediate reinstallation of Greek authorities. If the Italians insisted that occupation of Epirus was about corollary of French advance into Thessaly, he would see that the Italian troops should retire simultaneously with the French⁵¹. Rome accepted the Greek proposal and promised to withdraw its troops beyond the Greek frontier of 1913, with the exception of the triangle enclosing the kaza of Pogoniani, which the Italian military authorities considered necessary to retain for strategic reasons as commanding the road from Santi Quaranta to Koritsa⁵². To the Greeks such a demand was not justified, considering that Greece was an ally of Italy, and was able by her own means to watch over the enclave commanding the road, the use of which would remain at the disposal of the Italians. Venizelos, however, in order to give proof of his goodwill, consented that the enclave should remain in Italian occupation, provided the Greek civil administration were reestablished in it⁵³. Sonnino could not accept the Greek point of view for strategic reasons, but gave assurances that the enclave would be restituted at the end of the war⁵⁴. In these circumstances Venizelos had no alternative but to appeal to the arbitration of the other Allies since he could not settle the problem direct with Italy. On 25-26 July 1917, at an interallied conference in Paris, Lloyd George, the British prime minister and Alexander Ribot, the French prime minister, pressured strongly Sonnino, who agreed that Italy and France should simultaneously evacuate Greek territory in Epirus and Thessaly but emphasizing that Italian occupation of the triangle formed by the Santi Quaranta and Koritsa roads and the Epirus frontier should be provisionally maintained in the interests of security⁵⁵.

Throughout the period of the negotiations with the Italians, Venizelos

51. FO 371/2879/128574, British Embassy to Foreign Office, Athens, 28 June 1917.

52. FO 371/2879/133859, British Embassy to Foreign Office, Athens, 6 July 1917; A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 4244, Foreign Ministry to Embassy at Rome, Athens, 14 July 1917.

53. A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 4244, Foreign Ministry to Embassy at Rome, Athens, 14 July 1917.

54. *Ibid.*

55. A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/II, Proceedings of Inter-Allied conference, Paris, 25 July 1917; A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 2165, Embassy at Paris to Foreign Ministry, Paris, 26 July 1917.

For a detailed account of the Proceedings see Yannis Mourellos, *L'intervention de la Grèce dans la Grande Guerre, 1916-1917*, Athens 1983, pp. 217-222.

was greatly concerned with the fact that Rome was arming the Albanian population of Yannina with rifles and bombs. This, in his opinion, was part of a far-reaching plot designed to secure the permanent Italian occupation of the region, as the Italians expected that immediately after their troops had left Yannina the newly-armed Albanian population would rise and proclaim the annexation of that part of Epirus to Albania. Italy, on her part, would use the fighting which would ensue as a justification for a renewed Italian occupation of the area⁵⁶. Venizelos' fears, however, proved unfounded as by the middle of September the Italian army withdrew from southern Epirus with the exception of the Epirot triangle⁵⁷.

In the meantime the situation in Northern Epirus still under Italian occupation had become very critical. The Italian authorities had started a systematic persecution of the Greeks in spite of their abiding and submissive attitude. All Greek schools were closed and replaced by Albano-Italian ones; the Albanian flag, backed by that of Italy, was hoisted, various oppressive measures were adopted against the Greek population, and Greek notables were deported to Italy. The Italians settled Moslems from the north in order to alter the composition of the population and harrassed Greek traders⁵⁸. On the other side, every regard was paid by the Italians to the Albanians with a view to their pronouncing in favor of annexation to Italy. Mixed local administration and judicial council had been established by the occupying forces, which however had taken care to secure an Albanian majority. Moreover, they allowed the Albanians to prosecute for acts said to have been committed prior to the occupation, thus enabling them to extract heavy fines from any well to do Greek⁵⁹.

The occupation of the area caused great anxiety to the deputies from Northern Epirus who protested against the Italian actions and requested the Greek government to take the necessary measures for the protection of the

56. FO 371/2879/164734, Foreign Office to British Embassy at Athens, London, 17 August 1917; A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, Prefect of Florina to Foreign Ministry, Florina, 17 August 1917.

57. FO 371/2879/170446, British Embassy to Foreign Office, Athens, 13 September 1917; A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 6690, Foreign Ministry to Rome Embassy, Athens, 19 September 1917.

58. FO 371/2623/208318, British Embassy to Foreign Office, Athens, 12 October 1916; A.Y.E., 1916, A/5/VII, no. 10207, Prefect of Yannina to Foreign Ministry, Yannina, 2 January 1917.

59. A.Y.E., 1916, A/5/VIII, no. 10207, Prefect of Yannina to Foreign Ministry, Yannina, 2 January 1917.

Greek population, which had been driven out in order to make it appear that Northern Epirus was part of Moslem Albania⁶⁰. On 31 July 1917 those deputies appealed to Venizelos and asked to take their seat in the Greek Chamber of Deputies. Very illuminating is the memorandum which they addressed to the Chamber:

"While all the nations of the world are fighting beside the powerful states who represent individual independence and the freedom of nations; while Greece has put herself beside the Protecting Powers, her natural allies, Northern Epirus is in peril. Its Hellenic character is called in question as well as the authenticity of its representatives".

The memorandum went on to speak of the diplomatic necessity, which had brought about the creation of the Albanian state at the expense of the inhabitants of Northern Epirus, and, referring to the Protocol of Florence, declared that from all time the Epirotes had preserved their Hellenic character. Consequently, it was impossible for the representatives of Northern Epirus to have been excluded from Chamber, especially as they had sat it in January 1916.

It was argued that the deputies would not disobey the voice of the mother country if she ordered them provisionally to abstain from taking their seat in the Chamber. However, they would never recognize any master or conqueror in Northern Epirus and declared that the population of the region would entangle themselves into a fresh struggle⁶¹.

This memorandum made a profound impression on the entire population of Greece but Venizelos, on 6 August in the Chamber, had regretfully to refuse to admit the deputies from Northern Epirus to its deliberations:

"The moving appeal of the deputies of Northern Epirus not only goes straight to our hearts but also to the soul of the entire nation. Unfortunately the policy of the government which succeeded to the Liberal Cabinet, caused the withdrawal from Northern Epirus of the Greek occupation which the Liberal government in Greece secured during the early months of the war, not only with the consent of one of the groups of the belligerents, and of one member of the opposing group, but with the toleration of the other Powers of which the

60. A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 189, Protest of deputies from Northern Epirus, Athens, 25 January 1917.

61. A.Y.E., 1917, A/5/X, no. 5128, Appeal of deputies from Northern Epirus to the Greek Chamber, Athens, 31 July 1917.

latter group was composed. To-day, as unfortunately we possess no international title to Northern Epirus, nor even the military occupation of it, we cannot admit the deputies of Northern Epirus to this Chamber without subverting international law and creating international complications. However, even if we have no international title to Northern Epirus, even if the military occupation which we had obtained at the beginning of the war no longer exists, we have other ties which bind us to this district, unwritten ties it is true, but more powerful than any decision of man and any agreement of nations. Our nation is united to this part of unredeemed Greece not only by the history of thousands of years but by ethnography and by the firm decision of the majority of the population not to cease to be Greeks and not to submit to foreign rule.

If these ties could not be considered sufficient by the old state of affairs, I suppose that now as Greece shares in the great European war, ready to undergo the necessary sacrifices in the common struggle, as at the forthcoming Peace Conference, Greece will not be judged by default but will be represented, it is difficult for us to imagine that our national rights to Northern Epirus will be ignored, since these are in full accord with the aims for which the Allies are carrying on the war"⁶².

In spite the prime minister's optimistic views about a positive solution of the Northern Epirus problem the outlook was not very promising. The Italians were consolidating their position while Venizelos had to follow a passive policy as he had to turn his attention to the organization of the Greek army and its participation in the operations of the Eastern Army in the Macedonian front against the Bulgarians, Austrians and Germans.

In the meantime events in Koritsa, the only region of Northern Epirus not occupied by the Italians, were developing contrary to Greek objectives. After the establishment of the provisional government at Thessaloniki, Venizelist sympathizers at Koritsa expelled the royalist authorities and took control of the city⁶³. At this point the fate of Koritsa greatly concerned Venizelos, who feared an occupation of the town either by the Italians advancing from the south or by Albanian bands coming from the north. The Greek prime minister, anxious to save Koritsa, sent Pericles Argyropoulos as a representa-

62. FO 371/2879/166033, British Embassy to Foreign Office, Athens, 7 August 1917.

63. Pericles Argyropoulos, *Απομνημονεύματα*, Athens 1970, p. 223.

tive of the provisional government in order to prepare the defense and the reorganization of the administration⁶⁴. Meanwhile Albanian bands, which were cooperating with the Austrians, had burned Moschopolis and threatened to do the same to Koritsa. Thus, the above events forced Argyropoulos to ask Venizelos for the despatch of military forces for the defense of the city⁶⁵. The Greek government, however, was in no position to send reinforcements, as general Maurice Sarrail, whose troops of the Eastern Army covered the region of Koritsa, not only opposed the sending of Greek troops but, for purely strategic reasons, the French general demanded that Argyropoulos should leave and surrender the town to a French officer⁶⁶. At this juncture, mid November 1916, Venizelos had no alternative but to comply with the general's demand and to withdraw from Koritsa. The Greek leader desperately needed the French assistance in order to confront the serious problems which had arisen with the Italian government, which not only refused to recognize the provisional government of Venizelos but offered to send to the Macedonian Front a much larger number of troops than that of the Greeks⁶⁷.

The surrender of Koritsa to the French, which had been done for purely strategic purposes, had unforeseen political consequences. On 10 December 1916 the commander of the French troops, colonel Henri Descoins, with the approval of Sarrail proclaimed the independence of the "Republic of Koritsa" under French military protection and he vested authority to an Administrative Council which proceeded to close all Greek schools of the region and to persecute the Greek element of the city⁶⁸. Moreover, the French military authorities established a gendarmerie and a militia which in case of military necessity would be placed under French command. Albanian was declared to be the official language and the flag of the "Republic" was to be the traditional flag of Scanderbeg combined with the French tricolor⁶⁹.

The question is, why did Sarrail sponsor the creation of the "Republic of Koritsa"? It is evident that large-scale disturbances in the area would have

64. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

65. A.Y.E., 1916-1917, A/5/VII, Argyropoulos to Venizelos, Koritsa, 24 October 1916.

66. Argyropoulos, *Απομνημονεύματα*, p. 233.

67. A.Y.E., 1916-1917, A/5/VI, no. 640, Alexandris to Politis, Rome, 14 December 1916.

68. A.Y.E., 1916-1917, A/5/X, no. 324, representative at Premeti to Prefect of Argiro-castro, Premeti, 25 April 1917, and memorandum of Constantinos Skenderis, ex-deputy from Koritsa to Foreign Ministry, Athens, 14 May 1917.

69. Henri Descoins, "Six mois d'histoire de l'Albanie (novembre 1916 - mai 1917)", *Revue d'histoire de la guerre mondiale*, 7-8 (1929-30), pp. 327-328.

hindered military operations there, thus French occupation of Koritsa was imperative if only to prevent the Austrians from turning the Eastern Army's left flank and to discourage them from moving into the region. Moreover, with tranquility assured, fewer French troops would be needed there⁷⁰. On the contrary, the presence of the Greek army in Koritsa would create problems for Sarrail as the Albanian bands would cause disturbances with their attacks against the Greek positions⁷¹, at a time, February 1917, when the left flank of the Eastern Army would undertake operations against the Austrians and the Bulgarians in the region of Koritsa-Monastir⁷².

These arbitrary activities of general Sarrail were disavowed by the French government and, on 16 February 1918, his successor repealed the independence of Koritsa and reopened the Greek schools. In short, I would like to note that Venizelos from the start of the war tried to prevent a foreign occupation of Northern Epirus. However, in spite of his efforts his plan failed as a result of the internal dissension in Greece which, to a great extent, determined the occupation of the region not by the Greeks but by the Italians and the French.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 332-334.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

72. Greek General Staff: Directory of Army History, *Ο ελληνικός στρατός κατά τον πρώτο παγκόσμιο πόλεμο, 1914-1918*, Vol. 1, Athens 1958, pp. 227-232.

EUGEN STANESCU
(1922-1989)

On le savait menacé, sans soupçonner cependant l'imminence de cette séparation dont il parlait beaucoup, peut-être pour en conjurer l'inquiétude. La fin l'a surpris au retour du Congrès des études sud-est européennes de Sofia. Il n'est pas facile de dire tout ce que l'Institut de Bucarest perd avec Eugen Stănescu, qui s'était identifié depuis un quart de siècle à l'existence de ce groupe de travail. Certains de ses collègues le connaissaient depuis longtemps, pour avoir été d'abord ses élèves. En 1978, après la mort de M. Berza, la direction de l'Institut lui échut et il garda six ans et demi cette position, souvent inconfortable. C'était l'aboutissement d'une carrière irrégulière, aux détours assez surprenants.

Maître de conférences dès l'âge de 27 ans, à une époque de bouleversements révolutionnaires, il s'était attaché au milieu universitaire. Qu'on nous permette ce témoignage personnel: il a dignement occupé la chaire et il a rendu service à l'enseignement roumain.

Après avoir dirigé pendant quelque temps les Editions de l'Académie, il fut de 1959 à 1963 rédacteur en chef de la revue *Studii*, la principale revue d'histoire de Bucarest. Lui-même, il prenait une part, et non des moindres, au redressement de la recherche historique: ses premières études (1954-1955): portent sur la résistance de la Moldavie à l'Empire Ottoman au XVI^e siècle. Bientôt (1964-1968), il allait découvrir les sujets qui doivent à ses contributions, plusieurs fois renouvelées, leur état actuel. Pour rendre compte du développement des idées sociales et politiques à travers l'ancienne historiographie roumaine, Eugen Stănescu a fourni une interprétation des chroniques valaques fortement influencée par la formation sociologique et marxiste qui était la sienne. Ces pages là, qu'on estimera toujours sans hésitation parmi les meilleures qu'il ait écrites, ont trouvé une confirmation inattendue beaucoup plus tard, dans l'analyse des mêmes sources accomplie par G. I. Brătianu au lendemain de la seconde guerre mondiale, mais restée pratiquement inconnue jusqu'en 1977. Par l'étude approfondie des noms "valaque", "Valachie" et "Roumanie", le savant a retrouvé les origines de la conscience nationale des Roumains. Enfin, son attention a été longuement retenue par l'époque de la première réunion des pays roumains sous Michel le Brave.

Entre temps, depuis 1958, il avait assumé la charge d'un cours d'histoire byzantine, qu'il s'agissait de reprendre après dix ans d'interruption. Il se fit donc byzantiniste. Pour quelqu'un que les circonstances avaient contraint à trouver sans guide son orientation scientifique, presque en autodidacte, les voyages et les contacts internationaux devaient être essentiels dans cette nouvelle étape de sa carrière. Assidu aux Congrès, il eut une part importante au succès de celui de 1971, à Bucarest, où il était secrétaire général adjoint du Comité d'organisation. Son rapport à cette occasion, sur *Byzance et les pays roumains aux IX^e-XV^e siècles* condensait les matériaux d'un livre, resté en chantier comme bien d'autres projets.

S'il fallait nommer la qualité maîtresse du savant, ce serait sans doute sa curiosité jamais assouvie. Elle l'incitait à toujours élargir le cadre de l'enquête historique. Elle l'entraînait dans tant de directions qu'on peut comprendre la dispersion de son œuvre. La riche mois-

son de ses lectures lui permettait de juger avec un goût littéraire sûr des auteurs aussi divers que Gérard de Nerval ou Ernst Jünger. Témoin passionné de son temps, il aimait regarder autour de lui.

L'homme était généreux, fidèle à ses amitiés, entêté même dans ses faiblesses. Une susceptibilité à fleur de peau n'était que l'expression la plus frappante d'un tempérament vif. Ses sentiments s'allumaient avec autant de promptitude que son intelligence. S'il éprouvait le besoin de faire valoir les résultats de son activité, plus rares dans la dernière période de sa vie, c'était peut-être pour se rassurer; les orgueilleux n'ont pas de tels doutes, ou ils les dissimulent avec art.

Un volume dont il avait surveillé la préparation venait de paraître après de longs délais, à la veille de son départ pour Sofia. Le livre sur la révolte des Assénides ne parviendra donc aux lecteurs qu'après la nouvelle de la mort du premier de ses auteurs. Une vie qui s'achève ainsi, n'est-elle pas heureuse?

Bucarest

ANDREI PIPPIDI

Book Reviews

Μανώλης Χατζηδάκης, *Ὁ Κρητικὸς ζωγράφος Θεοφάνης. Ἡ τελευταία φάση τῆς τέχνης του στὶς τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Σταυρονικήτα*, ἔκδοση Ἱ. Μονῆς Σταυρονικήτα, Ἁγίου Ὁροῦ, 1986 (Manolis Chatzidakis, *Le peintre crétois Théophane. La dernière phase de son art dans les fresques du monastère de Stavronikita*, édition du monastère de Stavronikita, Mont-Athos, 1986), 328 p., 36 photos en noir et blanc + 223 photos en couleurs, 9 schémas.

Nos connaissances sur les fresques postbyzantines du Mont-Athos s'étaient très peu enrichies depuis 1927, date de publication de l'album de Gabriel Millet intitulé *Monuments de l'Athos, I. Les peintures*, qui contenait une documentation photographique abondante sur la plupart des ensembles athonites les plus importants de cette période. Un des monuments qui ne figuraient pas dans ce recueil était le monastère de Stavronikita, dont le catholicon a été décoré de fresques en 1546 par Théophane Strélitzas († 1559), le peintre le plus important de l'école crétoise pendant la première moitié du XVI^e siècle. Ces peintures, ainsi que les fresques du réfectoire et de la chapelle adjacente de St. Jean le Prodrome, attribuables à la même époque et au même atelier, furent pertinemment restaurées pendant les années soixante et soixante-dix par une équipe du Service Archéologique Hellénique ayant à sa tête M. Photis Zachariou. La communauté du monastère a eu l'heureuse idée de publier un livre luxueux sur ces fresques, et de confier la rédaction du texte à M. Manolis Chatzidakis, spécialiste par excellence de la peinture crétoise, qui avait déjà consacré à Théophane plusieurs articles, dont le plus important est paru dans le volume 23-24 (1969-70) des *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

Le texte de M. Chatzidakis est précédé d'une Préface de Sa Sainteté le Patriarche Oecuménique Démétrios et d'un "Commentaire Théologique" de l'Higoumène du monastère, le R. P. Basile (p. 9 et 11-27). Suit une Préface de l'auteur (p. 30-32), qui explique les raisons pour lesquelles il n'a pas tenté de donner une monographie d'ensemble sur Théophane: Nos connaissances sur la période précédente de la peinture crétoise présentent trop de lacunes, les autres ensembles dûs à Théophane — St. Nicolas Anapavsas aux Météores (1527), le catholicon et le réfectoire de la Grande Lavra (1535 et vers 1535-40) — sont insuffisamment étudiés, l'œuvre des contemporains et des continuateurs de Théophane au Mont-Athos et aux Météores est soit totalement inconnue, soit connue surtout par des photos.

Le premier chapitre (Τὰ ἱστορικά, p. 33-42) traite du nouveau fondateur du monastère de Stavronikita, le patriarche Jérémie I (1522-1546) et des circonstances dans lesquelles le monastère fut rénové à partir de 1533 et décoré de fresques vers 1546 (p. 33-35), de la vie et de l'œuvre de Théophane Strélitzas (p. 35-39), de la date d'exécution des peintures et des collaborateurs qui furent employés (p. 39-41), finalement de l'état de préservation de ces fresques et de leur restauration (p. 41-42).

Dans le chapitre suivant (p. 43-62) sont examinés les programmes iconographiques:

ceux de la coupole (p. 45-47), du sanctuaire (p. 47-51), les cycles de la vie du Christ et de la Vierge (p. 51-53), les figures isolées (p. 53-55), la décoration du narthex, dont une partie seulement est conservée (p. 55). Suivent des remarques sur ces cycles (p. 55-59) et la description des fresques du réfectoire, partiellement conservées (p. 59-61) et de la chapelle du Prodrôme (p. 61-62). Signalons que les inscriptions ne sont pas transcrites selon les règles de l'épigraphie.

Le chapitre III est consacré aux problèmes iconographiques (Εικονογραφικά ζητήματα. Παράδοση και καινοτομίες, p. 63-85). S'appuyant sur des exemples choisis, M. Chatzidakis examine d'abord les représentations basées sur la tradition crétoise du XVe siècle (p. 63-70) et ensuite les innovations: scènes, figures isolées et motifs ornementaux inspirés de la peinture italienne (p. 70-78), emprunts à l'art des Paléologues (p. 78-79) et "autres innovations" (p. 79-81). En conclusion, l'auteur formule des remarques générales sur l'iconographie (p. 82-85). Dans ce contexte M. Chatzidakis souligne pertinemment que l'icône de la Transfiguration de Stavronikita copie sans doute la miniature du ms. Par. gr. 1242, qui se trouvait au milieu du XVIe siècle dans le monastère de Ste Anastasie en Chalcidique (p. 79). Il est remarquable que les innovations les plus notables, telles les variantes nouvelles de l'Incrédulité de Thomas et de la Décollation de St. Jean (p. 73, 74-75) n'ont pas trouvé d'imitateurs. Ceci est dû au fait qu'elles ne sont probablement pas de la main de Théophane. Les p. 86-95 sont occupées par une "annexe iconographique", comprenant des photos en noir et blanc de matériel comparatif, de détails des fresques de Stavronikita et de certains documents se référant au fondateur, le patriarche Jérémie I, et à Théophane.

Le Quatrième Chapitre traite de la technique et des questions stylistiques (p. 95-110). L'auteur examine en détail le coloris (p. 95-97), le modelé et le drapé (p. 97-101), la composition et le style (p. 101-110).

Dans le Chapitre V (Η τελική κρίση, p. 110-119) M. Chatzidakis essaie de distinguer les compositions dues à la main du maître de celles qui doivent plutôt être attribuées à ses collaborateurs (p. 110-114) et formule des jugements généraux sur Théophane et son œuvre à Stavronikita. Il est remarquable que parmi les fresques que M. Chatzidakis considère comme des œuvres d'atelier se trouvent non seulement des figures isolées en buste, qu'on peut considérer comme secondaires (fig. 168-200), mais aussi des scènes parmi les plus importantes, qui occupent des surfaces bien en vue (par ex. le Massacre des Innocents, la Crucifixion et l'Incrédulité de Thomas, fig. 84, 98, 105). Une des conclusions les plus importantes de M. Chatzidakis est que la source principale de Théophane fut l'art crétois du XVe siècle et non l'art des Paléologues, comme on croyait auparavant. Il est étonnant de constater que Théophane, qui vécut de longues années au Mont-Athos, n'a pratiquement pas été influencé par les fresques du XIVe siècle au Protaton, à Vatopédi et à Chilandar, qu'il avait à portée de la main. M. Chatzidakis insiste sur la sensibilité de la palette de Théophane, sur la sûreté de son dessin et sur la place centrale qu'occupe dans son œuvre la figure humaine, qualité qu'il attribue à l'influence de l'art italien de la Renaissance — que notre peintre avait bien connu pendant ses années d'apprentissage à Candie —, et à l'écho lointain de l'art constantinopolitain. Il convient de noter que M. Chatzidakis revient maintenant sur son attribution des fresques du monastère de la Transfiguration aux Météores à Théophane; cet ensemble important aurait été peint par d'anciens collaborateurs du maître, d'après ses instructions (p. 114).

Les p. 120-123 contiennent la bibliographie essentielle pour chaque chapitre. En effet, l'auteur avait précisé (p. 32) que son texte est un essai plutôt qu'une publication systématique; c'est pourquoi il est dépourvu de notes. Ceci est plutôt navrant, du moins dans le

cas des chapitres II et III. Où doit-on, par ex., chercher l'icone de la Transfiguration du Musée Bénaki mentionnée p. 65, ou les icones de la Lamentation du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes et de Recklinghausen (p. 67), les fresques d'Emparos (p. 67) ou les représentations vénitiennes de la Sainte Face auxquelles il est vaguement fait allusion à la p. 74? Suit aux p. 124-125 une liste des abréviations, qui ne comprennent que le nom de l'auteur et l'année de publication, ce qui oblige le lecteur à consulter chaque fois cette liste, d'où manquent d'ailleurs Brockhaus 1895 et Dolger 1943 mentionnés p. 42, ainsi que Chatzidakis 1960 et Chatzidakis N. 1984 mentionnés p. 120.

Les 223 photos qui suivent le texte sont toutes en couleurs et illustrent la quasi-totalité des fresques. Si on compare certaines photos d'ensemble aux détails correspondants, on constate que les couleurs ne sont pas toujours aussi fidèles qu'on l'aurait souhaité. Cf. par ex. la fig. 109 aux détails des fig. 85, 86, 107 et 108, ou la fig. 110 et les fig. 99, 111 et 112; comparer de même les fig. 175, 177 et 178 aux fig. 176, 179 et 180. Quelques rares photos, comme celle de la fig. 130, sont floues. Les planches sont suivies de neuf schémas des différentes surfaces du catholicon, où sont dessinées les diverses scènes et figures isolées en couleur différente. Le dessin est impeccable, les schémas, accompagnés de concordances avec les photos correspondantes, extrêmement utiles, et on regrette que le même procédé n'a pas été employé pour les fresques du réfectoire et de la chapelle. Les p. 316-318 contiennent des listes des schémas et des photos, les p. 319-323 un index, qui aurait été encore plus utile, s'il avait contenu aussi des références aux figures et pas seulement au texte.

La présentation typographique du livre est très soignée, sauf le fait que les légendes des figures ont été imprimées en deux familles différentes de caractères; cf. par ex. les légendes des fig. 6 et 7. Les erreurs typographiques sont rares. Lire par ex. p. 122, en fin de la 1ère colonne, *XVI. Intern. Byzant. Kongress*, en fin de la 2ème colonne *in Byzantine Iconographical Tradition, Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti*.

On pourrait formuler quelques observations sur certains points secondaires du texte. L'auteur considère Théophane comme le peintre grec le plus important du XVI^e siècle (p. 30). Je me demande si Frangos Katellanos et Michel Damaskinos, pour ne pas mentionner Théotokopoulos, n'auraient pas également droit pour diverses raisons au même titre. Le peintre Xénos Dighénis est attesté en Crète en 1470 et non en 1468 (p. 36). On lit sur le rouleau d'Habacuc *κατενόησα* et non *καὶ ἐνόησα* (p. 47, fig. 27), et dans celui d'Ezéchiel *χεῖρ Κυρίου καὶ ἐξήγαγέ με* et non *χεῖρ Κυρίου ἐξήγαγέ με* (p. 45, fig. 29). M. Chatzidakis se réfère p. 47 à huit prophètes de la coupole, tandis que ceux-ci sont quatorze (cf. p. 45 et fig. 25-32). Le fait que deux saints évêques du nom de Tarasios sont représentés, tandis qu'il n'en existe qu'un seul, n'est pas commenté (p. 48, fig. 50 et 53). Page 52 on lit "1er Dimanche de l'Orthodoxie", tandis qu'il n'y a qu'un seul Dimanche de l'Orthodoxie, qui correspond au 1er Dimanche de Carême. La Vierge Orante du réfectoire n'appartient pas au type de la Platytera (p. 60, fig. 205). Les saints évêques des fig. 222 et 223 ne portent pas un sakkos mais un phelonion (p. 62). Dans le commentaire de l'Entrée à Jérusalem deux types différents sont confondus: celui représenté par les icones de Williamstown et de Leucade et celui représenté par l'icone de Patmos (cf. P. L. Vocotopoulos, *Μία πρόμη κρητική εικόνα της Βασιλόφρου στην Λευκάδα, ΔΧΑΕ*, 4e période, 4, 1977-1979, p. 309-321; idem, *Ἐπὶ κρητικὲς εἰκόνες τοῦ 17ου αἰ., Ἀμνητός. Τιμητικὸς τόμος γιὰ τὸν Καθηγητὴ Μανόλη Ἀνδρόνικο*, Thessalonique, 1987, p. 141-142). Comme nous avons constaté lors d'un voyage d'études au Sinaï, l'icone de l'apôtre St. Jean avec son disciple Prochore mentionnée p. 69, qui porte la signature fausse d'Angélos, conserve sous les repeints du XVIII^e siècle la signature originale du même peintre. On pourrait ajouter aux types iconographiques in-

ventés par Théophane et énumérés au Chapitre III l'Exaltation de la Vraie Croix dans la variante de Stavronikita (fig. 121); elle apparaît pour la première fois dans la décoration du réfectoire de la Grande Lavra et est adoptée par la suite par plusieurs fresquistes grecs du XVI^e siècle (voir P. L. Vocotopoulos, 'Η Εὔρεση καὶ ἡ Ὑψωση τοῦ Τιμίου Σταυροῦ στὴν κρητικὴ ζωγραφικὴ, dans les *Mélanges N. Drandakis*, sous presse). La décoration de l'église du monastère de Diliou à Janina date de 1543 et non de 1541 (p. 80). La bordure du chiton de St. Mercure n'est pas décorée de caractères pseudo-couffiques (p. 106, fig. 156). Le groupement des noms de lieu dans l'index sous les noms de province ou de pays ne facilite pas le lecteur; de même le groupement des manuscrits sous le mot κώδικας. Le manuscrit de la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore cité p. 320 et 321 porte la cote 335.

Ces remarques sur quelques points de détail n'altèrent point notre jugement d'ensemble. Le nouveau livre de M. Chatzidakis enrichit nos connaissances sur la peinture crétoise et sur la personnalité d'un de ses représentants les plus illustres; indispensable au spécialiste de l'art postbyzantin, il intéresse de même tout amateur de la peinture religieuse orthodoxe. Il ne nous reste qu'à souhaiter que l'initiative du monastère de Stavronikita trouve des imitateurs et que d'autres ensembles de fresques postbyzantines fassent l'objet d'éditions aussi soignées et aussi complètes.

Signalons pour terminer que le livre de M. Chatzidakis est aussi paru en édition anglaise (*The Cretan Painter Theophanis. The Final Phase of his Art in the Wall-Paintings of the Holy Monastery of Stavronikita*, Mount Athos, 1986).

Université d'Athènes

PANAYOTIS L. VOCOTOPOULOS

Alejandro Zorbas D. - César García Alvarez - Elena Martínez Chacón (ed.), *El cuento griego moderno. Antología*, Universidad de Chile, Centro de Estudios Bizantinos y Neolénicos, Santiago, 1989, pp. 502.

Il y aura bientôt un quart de siècle que le Centre d'Études Néo-helléniques de Santiago du Chili vit le jour. Il s'agit d'un institut scientifique, qui appartient à la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Santiago et qui a été créé grâce à la passion toute missionnaire d'un byzantiniste grec prématurément disparu, Fotis Malléros, et à la collaboration créative d'un néo-helléniste enthousiaste, Miguel Castillo Didier, effectif fondateur de la chaire de Linguistique et de Littérature Néo-helléniques de l'Université de Santiago du Chili. Malgré les péripéties que le régime de Pinochet a fait vivre au personnel du Centre (et principalement à Castillo Didier), l'Institut a réussi à s'affirmer et à élargir la pléiade initiale de ses élèves et collaborateurs grecs, chiliens et sud-américains. En dehors des cours habituels, des conférences et symposiums, etc. ... (dédiés à la Grèce de la période classique, du Moyen-Âge byzantine et surtout de l'époque moderne), le Centre a de plus à son compte de nombreuses publications, dont certaines sont des études nouvelles (littéraires, linguistiques et historiques), d'autres des traductions d'œuvres représentatives de la prose et de la poésie du grec moderne (dont la plupart ont été faites par Castillo Didier, qui s'est révélé être l'un des traducteurs les plus compétents et peut-être le traducteur le plus fécond d'œuvres de littérature grecque moderne en espagnol). Assez fréquente est également la publication de la revue du Centre *Bizantion-Néa Hellás* (8 fascicules en six tomes ont été publiés jusqu'à cette date).

L'Anthologie de la nouvelle grecque moderne, que nous présentons ici, est une œuvre collective: six traducteurs ont coopéré à sa préparation (Nina Anghelidis-Spinedi, Miguel Castillo Didier, Jorge S. Razis, Saúl A. Tovar, Pedro I. Vicuña et Alejandro Zorbas D.), qui vivent et travaillent en Amérique Latine, la plupart d'entre eux en collaboration avec le Centre d'Etudes Néo-helléniques de Santiago. En outre, la préparation du tome a vu le concours de l'écrivain et traducteur réputé de nouvelles principalement argentines, G. Hourmouziadis, auquel se doit également le bref prologue historique (pp. 1-18). Ce prologue, malgré sa brièveté, est conçu pour éclairer suffisamment le lecteur non-informé, qui veut approcher pour la première fois la nouvelle grecque moderne. Néanmoins, les sections de la prose moderne grecque qu'il propose, malgré leur éventuelle utilité pratique, ne correspondent pas à l'ordre chronologique que préfèrent les chercheurs sérieux. La première période, par exemple (dont Hourmouziadis situe le début dans les années de la création de l'état grec et la fin au début du XX^{ème} siècle), ne dépasse pas les années 1880. Par ailleurs, les Guerres Balcaniques (où Hourmouziadis place le début de la deuxième période) ne constituent pas une époque tellement importante de la prose grecque moderne. Il est manifeste qu'ici ont été choisis des critères (contestables d'ailleurs) de l'histoire politique et non littéraire de la Grèce. De la même façon, je trouve injustifiées d'une part les divisions et répartitions en écoles, générations, cercles et périodes, que nous donne le rédacteur dont le nom n'est pas mentionné, de la synopsis de l'histoire de la littérature grecque, figurant à la fin du tome, comme d'autre part la classification également anonyme des novellistes (pas en ce qui les concerne tous et même pas toujours les plus représentatifs) en "générations" (dont certaines n'équivalent au fond qu'à quelques dizaines d'années).

Dans l'Anthologie sont présentées 35 nouvelles d'écrivains différents: d'Alexandre Papadiamandis et Andréa Karkavitsas jusqu'à George Potamianos (né en 1926) et Dimitris Kranis (né en 1932). Un effort a été produit pour faire une sélection d'œuvres représentatives, qui équivalent à toutes les "tendances" connues de l'art de la nouvelle grecque moderne (moralistes, cosmopolites, réalistes, psychologiques, etc). Chaque nouvelle traduite est introduite par une notice biographique assez informative sur l'auteur, avec une analyse succincte de l'œuvre choisie. De plus, dans de brèves notes sont données des informations orientatives, utiles au lecteur étranger, et qui se rapportent à des personnages et lieux historiques, ainsi qu'à des événements et coutumes, qui sont mentionnés dans le contenu de la narration.

Il faut souligner que la plupart des nouvelles de l'Anthologie ont été traduites avec une attention particulière, directement de sa version originale grecque (ceci à l'opposé de ce qui se produit avec de nombreuses œuvres de grec moderne, qui sont publiées en Amérique Latine sous forme de traductions de textes traduits principalement en français). Par ailleurs les traducteurs ne sont pas uniquement d'excellents connaisseurs des deux langues, mais aussi des néo-hellénistes expérimentés, ou encore eux-mêmes des écrivains littéraires estimés, qui se meuvent avec facilité aussi bien dans la langue grecque que dans la langue espagnole. Enfin, notable est également l'attention scrupuleuse portée à l'édition du tome, une qualité qui d'ailleurs caractérise presque toutes les publications de ce Centre d'Études Néo-helléniques si productif.

Edmund Keeley, *The Salonika Bay Murder. Cold War Politics and the Polk Affair*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989. Pp 384, \$ 24.95. (Paperback edition with a new preface by the author)

America's involvement in the Greek civil war of 1946-1949 was enormous and its impact decisive not only for Greece but for Washington's newly declared policy of "containing" further Soviet aggression. Thousands of Americans, both military and civilian, were sent to every corner of Greece to investigate, advise and report. Yet despite the massive American presence, only two Americans died violently as a direct result of the Greek crisis. In January 1949, Air Force Lt. Col. R.S. Edner, a veteran of 150 combat missions in the Second World War, was killed when his Greek reconnaissance plane, in which he was flying as an observer, was fired upon and forced to crash land in guerrilla-held territory in Karpenisi. According to military sources, Edner, whose body was found some distance from the crash with a rope around his neck, had been beaten to death by his captors. In May 1948, the body of CBS correspondent George Polk was found floating in the harbor of Salonika just beyond the White Tower, arms and legs bound with rope, a bullet in his head. Several other Americans captured by the guerrillas during the same period were detained but later released unharmed.

The death of Col. Edner received no publicity, partly because the facts surrounding were not in dispute but also because the presence of American military personnel was not supposed to extend to the actual combat zones. By contrast, Polk's murder attracted enormous attention in Greece as well as the United States, resulted in a much publicized trial, and more than forty years later remains the subject of much speculation and controversy. In part this is because of the tendency to view the murder of a journalist as a more outrageous crime than the killing of a soldier under what were, after all, battle conditions. Also, Polk's superiors and colleagues could summon attention to his death in a way that Edner's comrades could not do to his. There is no question that the young journalist's brutal execution remains important primarily because to this day we do not know who carried it out or why. But as Edmund Keeley's new book brilliantly shows, the more profound significance of the Polk Affair is to be found in what it suggests about the frailties and failures of democratic regimes when they feel besieged by ideological foes.

A navy pilot in the Second World War twice wounded in the South Pacific, Polk had been a White House reporter and CBS correspondent in the Middle East before transferring to Athens in 1947, where he soon married a young Greek from Alexandria, Renee "Rea" Cocconis. He had flown to Salonika in an attempt to arrange for a visit to guerrilla headquarters to interview the head of the Democratic Army, Markos Vafiadis, a dangerous undertaking likely to arouse the wrath of the Greek authorities and bound to place him at the mercy of outlaws. In a letter to his boss and mentor Edward R. Murrow, Polk wrote that he hoped to put the guerrilla leader "on the air from his secret radio station and have the BBC record... I've offered to let them write the script on every word Markos says while I'll just give him cues and do the translating. Then — when I come 'outside' — I'd be able to tell any story I'd care to". A few days before his body was found someone mailed Polk's press card to the Salonika police.

For months the authorities appeared baffled by the crime, all the while proclaiming that it was the work of communists wanting to embarrass the Athens government and foster anti-Greek feelings in the United States. American officials in Greece and Washington followed the case very closely and a committee of distinguished journalists headed by Walter Lippmann commissioned William J. Donovan, head of the wartime OSS, to monitor develop-

ments in Greece and see to it that the guilty were brought to justice. Donovan and several of his investigators spent time in Greece and involved themselves in high level discussions on the progress and direction of the investigation. Finally, in mid-August, Gregory Staktopoulos, a minor-league Salonica journalist connected with the daily *Makedonia* and one-time communist who was known to have met Polk, was arrested and after more than six weeks' isolation and vigorous interrogation confessed to complicity in the murder. The key element in the case, which was brought to trial in April 1949, was government-produced expert testimony that the handwriting on the envelope which brought Polk's press card to the police was that of Staktopoulos' mother. Convicted as an accomplice, Staktopoulos received a life sentence while his mother was acquitted; two well-known communists were found guilty of murder and sentenced to death in absentia.

Even before his release from prison in 1960, in letters to the press and various state officials, Staktopoulos recanted his confession, which he claimed had been extracted under prolonged physical and mental torture, and proclaimed his complete innocence. Several attempts to reopen the case and exonerate him were turned down by the supreme court.

From the very beginning Staktopoulos' trial and conviction, a clearly and crudely orchestrated exercise, raised more questions than it purportedly settled. For example, why would the communists wish to kill a liberal-minded journalist whose reports had been loudly critical of corruption and defeatism in Athens and when an interview with Markos would have given the rebels a propaganda bonanza they so eagerly sought? Less than one month after Polk's death another American journalist of similar political views, Hemer Bigart of the *New York Herald Tribune*, visited Markos (via Yugoslavia) and reported extensively on his tour. And why were two Americans of the economic mission who fell into communist hands in December 1948 released unharmed on orders from higher guerrilla commands? How could two known communists, wanted by the police, mastermind and carry out on execution in downtown Salonica, a city under extremely tight security, especially since Polk's trip to Salonica had been a last-minute decision on his part? Answers to these and many other questions can, of course, be suggested but they are not convincing enough to lay the matter to rest.

Moreover, from the outset the communists were not the only possible culprits. Polk's critical reports and demeanor had been especially upsetting to Greece's conservatives (he had recently had a stormy interview with Constantine Tsaldaris), leading to wide-spread speculation that he had been the victim of right-wing secret organizations. Others felt that the Greek authorities, bending to American pressure to close the case quickly, had deliberately fudged the evidence and conspired to turn Staktopoulos into a convenient scape-goat. According to yet another theory, still popular today, the key person behind the crime was a British official in Salonica whom Polk had approached for assistance in making contact with the guerrillas and who was believed to be an intelligence officer. In this scenario, the suggested motive was hatred of Polk for his harsh criticism of British policy in the Middle East (especially Palestine) and resentment of America's growing influence in Greece at the expense of Britain's traditionally dominant role in that country.

Over the past forty years the debate concerning Polk's murder has done little to solve the case while showing the lengths to which imagination and ideologically colored perception can go in finding convenient answers to disturbing questions. At last, a meticulously researched, carefully documented and reasonably argued book offers a detailed account of both facts and speculation on the entire affair. Keeley, a Princeton University professor of creative writing and authority on modern Greek literature who has spent much of his life in Greece,

is not neutral to his subject: he readily confesses his own "excess of passion" and "progressive sense of outrage" which drove him to write this book. But without hiding his sympathies and aversions he examines the mountain of documentary evidence he has unearthed (mostly in American diplomatic and intelligence archives) with a cool and sceptical mind, weaving together endless details in a lively and absorbing style.

Keeley makes no attempt to solve the case: the available evidence does not support definite conclusions. Instead, he suggests that of all the possible culprits, the communists had the least to gain from Polk's death. He finds the British "connection" to the crime difficult to sustain and reaches the speculative conclusion that "some agency of the Right would have fewer logistical and political difficulties in staging an 'assassination' and, in the heated war climate of those days, could well have persuaded itself that it was performing a reasonable — if not downright patriotic — act by preventing Polk, and thereby discouraging others on his inclination, from interviewing the enemy".

However, Keeley's attention is focused less on the crime itself than on its subsequent handling by the Greek investigatory and judicial authorities, on the role of American diplomatic and press officials in influencing the pace and direction of the investigation, on the trial, and on the political and psychological climate in Greece and the United States which affected every aspect of the case. His main thesis is that the unspoken but clearly understood purpose of the investigation and trial was to serve pressing Greek and American security objectives; justice and Staktopoulos' rights were sacrificed so that narrowly perceived "national interests" might be promoted. Whatever Staktopoulos' involvement in the affair (which we may never know), his interrogation, trial and conviction represented a travesty of justice reminiscent of Arthur Koestler's account in *Darkness at Noon*. Although Keeley is too careful to say it openly, the record he produces suggests that the "justice" handed down in that Salonica court in April 1949 and so eagerly endorsed by American government officials and the press, represented a different kind of "crime", in the long run more dangerous than the murder of a journalist. It is one thing, and almost commonplace in our times, for individual fanatics to kill in support of their cause; it is far more ominous when entire regimes, while professing their devotion to the fundamental principles of democracy, rules of justice and human rights, convict a man because it is politically expedient. In short, the real message in Keeley's remarkable book will remain relevant and crucial long after the tragic death of George Polk has faded from memory. And while other books on the same subject are bound to appear, Keeley's masterful and fair treatment of this complex case is certain to stand well the test of time.

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JOHN O. IATRIDES

Peter J. Stavrakis, *Moscow and Greek Communism, 1944-1949*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989, pp. 231.

Peter Stavrakis has written the first full-length comprehensive study of Soviet policy towards the Greek Communist Party during the Greek Civil War. The book's significance is to be found in the enormous information it provides about Soviet attitude towards the Greek Communists, in the incorporation of newly revealed evidence about the activities of the Greek Communist leaders before and during the Civil War, and in its systematic treat-

ment of a subject that, if it did not determine the foundations of America's policy of containment, certainly provided the excuse for its implementation.

The first part of the analysis deals with the wartime period and the events that transpired before, during, and immediately after the liberation of Greece and which led to the so-called "second round" of the Civil War. The book's basic argument here is that the Soviets opportunistically utilized Britain's concern over the future political orientation of Greece, and by sacrificing the political aspirations of the Greek Communists, gained a free hand in Romania. A typical spheres-of-interest approach. In this context, the author maintains that the Soviet Union's attitude vis-a-vis the Greek Communists had a counterproductive character: without Soviet intervention of restraint, the Greek Communists could have easily gained political power.

Part two describes immediate Soviet postwar policy. With the War nearing its end, the Soviets, according to the analysis, changed their policy from a hands-off approach to a "cautious and gradual political infiltration" with the objective of "creating internally unstable states" and "detaching the Western presence", and opening up the way for "more aggressive policies". Stavrakis concludes that the Soviet approach was unsuccessful due to the fast pace of the Greek domestic situation whose instability was unsuitable for gradualism. Instead of gradualism, the Soviets were faced with the prospect of being drawn in a full-fledged armed conflict.

In the third part, the Soviets are depicted as being hard at work trying to control the tempo of events in the Balkans. As a result, they were forced to become involved in the Greek Civil War to "protect their interests against independent factions, especially those associated with Tito". In this context, Stalin sought to use the Greek Civil War as a weapon against Tito's independence, and later on in 1948 and 1949 to increase his negotiating power vis-a-vis the United States.

Part four constitutes an attempt to dispell allegations that domestic political conflicts in the Soviet Union were extended to the Greek Communist Party. Part five, is in essence a general conclusion.

Stavrakis' analysis reinforces the findings of other analysts that have traditionally allotted blame to the Soviet Union for the outbreak of the Greek Civil War. At the same time, it attempts to deviate from traditional interpretations, but without joining the ranks of the revisionists. By labelling the Soviet Union's Greek policy as a prudent and gradual expansionistic one (rather than outright expansionist), Stavrakis attempts to justify America's policy of containment and then criticize it as an overreaction. If Soviet sensitivities in regard to Albania, he concludes, were taken into consideration, the United States "might have accomplished more in a short time than it did with four decades of containment" (p. 215). In his effort to please the traditionalists without displeasing the revisionists, Stavrakis often finds himself in the compromising position of having to contradict himself. This manifests itself in two interrelated levels: his methodological approach, and his source selection and focus.

On the methodological level, the analysis is hard pressed to differentiate the value of what it considers to be the three most influential exogenous factors in Soviet foreign policy formulation: strategic, regional, and local. While the first part of the analysis focuses on the importance of the strategic considerations, subsequent chapters focus on the importance of regional and local factors to the detriment of the strategic ones. "A policy", notes Stavrakis, "that reflects an overriding concern for strategic factors...may have to be put aside in response to the threat that uncontrolled regional or local forces may pose" (p. 3). The reader

finds it difficult to accept the notion that Soviet strategic considerations in Eastern Europe received secondary priority in Soviet policy following the conclusion of the Second World War. Stavrakis provides no explanation as to why the Soviets abandoned their spheres-of-influence approach in regard to Greece or why they adopted an expansionist policy with the objective of expelling Western influence there.

Moreover, in part two and three the analysis focuses nearly exclusively on the apparent conflicts that were in existence between the three factors. It would seem that there are as many elements in each of the factors that were mutually compatible as there are elements that were in mutual conflict. For example, instability in Greece could jeopardize Soviet strategic gains in the Balkans as much as it could assist in consolidating them. In conclusion, Stavrakis gives no sufficient explanation as to why the Soviets stopped subordinating their Greek policy and interests to their overall strategic considerations in Eastern Europe and opted for an expansionist policy in Greece. He assumes that Soviet priorities changed and thus, so did Soviet policy. Instead of continuity in foreign policy, he emphasizes mutability.

The biggest problem in trying to evaluate Soviet intentions is, obviously, the lack of primary sources. Stavrakis' claim that new and sufficient evidence allow for an objective analysis of Soviet policy in Greece (p. 2), is undermined by the statement that "my extensive use of Greek Communist, British, and American sources means my analysis is based largely on perceptions of Soviet conduct rather than on the conduct itself" (p. x). Indeed, in order to demonstrate Soviet prudent expansionism, Stavrakis first relies on the conclusion reached by Stephen Xydis (p. 49), a traditionalist author whom he earlier on criticized for having argued from a point of view "rather [than] for it" (p. 2). Secondly, Stavrakis relied on the activities of the Greek Communists who indeed appear to have applied infiltrating tactics. The problem with this approach is that the Communist in general, given the opportunity, always apply such tactics; they were typical of their operating methods. Stavrakis is unable to produce convincing evidence of any coordinating efforts made between the Greek Communists and the Soviet leadership. Arguments to the effect that there had to be some kind of Soviet directives are tenuous at best. The Greek Communists, according to the analysis, planned infiltrating policies as early as January 1945, long before Zachariadis was allegedly briefed by the Soviet military command in Germany (p. 66), and much earlier than mid-1945 when gradualism and infiltration are assumed to have become part of Soviet policy. The fact that a Greek politician of the Left, Sophianopoulos, favored a policy that was pro-Soviet in nature, is not necessarily an indication that he was an instrument of Soviet policy.

The presence of Soviet officers in Greece and their efforts to collect intelligence information cannot exclusively be taken to mean a Soviet effort towards expansionism. Such activities could as well be explained by defensive considerations. As Stavrakis notes, along with the Turkish issue, the defense of Albania and Bulgaria held the highest priority in Soviet objectives in the Balkans. Also, Zachariadis could not have increased his offensive against the British starting on April 1945 (p. 68), because he was not yet in Greece. Briefly, the point to be made is that it is difficult to determine which KKE actions were part of a broader Soviet policy and which were not. This notion becomes more complicated taking into account Stavrakis' contradictory statements declaring the KKE as being faithful to the Soviet Union and Stalin (p. 12), while at the same time, pursuing an independent path (p. 15); or failing to follow Soviet instructions (p. 126).

On the point of independent factions, the analysis gives the impression that the Yugoslav Communists were constantly challenging Stalin's authority by exhibiting independent tendencies. This argument contradicts the conclusion reached by one prominent scholar

who noted that "...the realities of postwar politics make the thesis that Tito attempted to build a bloc of socialist states apart from and against the Soviet Union completely untenable and fantastic...and the idea of an outright challenge to Soviet supremacy could not enter the minds of the Yugoslav leaders prior to 1948" (Adam Ulam, *Titoism and the Cominform*, p. 80).

Without firsthand information from the Soviet archives and the archives of the Greek Communist Party, any attempt to explain the motives, the intent, and the degree of Soviet involvement in the Greek Civil War is bound to have limitations. Even a serious and well researched effort, such as the one made by Stavrakis, will be hampered by the reality that it must be based on Western sources or biased revelations made by the participants of that conflict. No matter how objective the approach, it cannot evade all analytical contradictions. Bearing this limitation in mind, Stavrakis has written an admirably good book which will set the tone of discussion and initiate further serious analysis and speculation on an important subject that has hardly been given systematic attention.

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SYMEON A. GIANNAKOS

Jon V. Kofas, *Intervention and Underdevelopment: Greece During the Cold War*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989. 215 pp., notes, bibliography, index.

According to this unabashed revisionist work by Jon V. Kofas of Marquette University, the United States intervened in Greece in 1947 to block a mythical attempt by the Soviet Union to establish Communism, and then to spread American capitalism into this underdeveloped economy. The Truman administration thereby launched a global crusade with the Truman Doctrine that became so military in orientation that it led directly to America's disaster in Vietnam and has threatened to do the same in Central America. Further, the American aid program stunted Greece's economic growth, relegating its people to the fate of Third World countries in that its sponsor reaped the benefits while the client wallowed in its own economic and political juices and continued its long train of social injustices. Using an impressive array of economic figures and documentation, Kofas substantiates the already wellknown truth that Greece was hurting socially, politically, and economically by longstanding problems before, during, and after World War II. But then he, not convincingly, attempts to tie much of the blame to the United States. In an unmistakable allusion to America's tragic involvement in Vietnam, he argues that Greece might have developed its own "social democratic regime" (p. xi) had not the United States attempted a military solution to what was essentially an economic and political problem. The Americans' failure to work for a "political compromise" assured the reduction of Greece "to a military satellite and an economic dependency of the United States" (p. 3).

As documentation becomes increasingly available in the United States, the revisionist view of the Truman Doctrine and the Cold War has become an increasingly tired issue. To propound this view, the author must virtually dismiss the impact of the civil war in Greece from 1946 to 1949. The result is a distorted story. Had Kofas used the records of the U.S. Army, Department of Defense, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and State Department, he would have

grasped Washington's intense concern about the ongoing fighting in Greece, and he would have realized how tightly interwoven these military events were with the monumental economic problems then eating away at the country. One cannot consider the Greek economic situation in a vacuum. Yet the reader has only the slightest notion that a war was going on that, as the co-ordinator of the Greek-Turkish Aid Program, George McGhee, insisted, kept blocking economic rehabilitation. And, even though Kofas accurately points out that no conclusive evidence has appeared to demonstrate direct Soviet involvement in Greek affairs, the evidence shows that the Greek guerrillas received Soviet weaponry and material along with substantial military and economic supplies from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and other countries within the Communist bloc. If there was no direct Soviet activity in Greece, the Truman administration *perceived* the Soviet presence as real if only indirect and acted accordingly. Despite Kofas' claim that "the Truman administration internationalized the Greek civil war by linking it to a bipolar foreign policy and the Soviet-American confrontation" (p. 2), American documents show that the White House made every effort to keep the war localized. The civil war posed an everyday and constant form of pressure that, until stopped, decisively obstructed the reconstruction and rehabilitation objectives of the Truman Doctrine.

There are numerous problems with this work. First and foremost, Kofas does not prove that America's intervention was the cause of Greece's dire condition. The war, not the Truman Doctrine, was a major source of the country's sagging economy. Indeed, one wonders what the country's fate would have been if the United States had turned its back on Greece. So many times the author fails to examine the alternatives to the Truman Doctrine and, without evidence, simply accuses the United States of being the chief culprit in the Greek catastrophe. Second, the Truman Doctrine did not signal an automatic commitment to a global strategy that required the United States to intervene everywhere in the world. Kofas has misread the President's message to Congress in writing that "American unilateral action to demolish (contain) social revolutions necessarily entailed that the United States set a precedent for intervention anywhere it perceived a threat to its interests" (p. 83). The Truman administration considered helping only those peoples considered vital to American interests *and* capable of salvation. It did not establish a rigid, all-encompassing militaristic policy that led inevitably to Vietnam. Third, despite Kofas' assertion that "It was indeed ironic that the administration bypassed the UN" (p. 85), the truth is that that organization did not offer a viable alternative to the Truman Doctrine. The situation in Greece was an emergency of military proportions, and the UN had neither the funds nor the troops necessary to remedy the problem. Fourth, it is highly debatable that the United States might have succeeded in working out a compromise with the USSR that could have established economic cooperation and coexistence and thus prevented a bipolar world. Instead of adhering to Henry Wallace's "prophetic words", Kofas writes, the United States used "containment militarism" that "lasted until the end of the Vietnam War" and "was resurrected by the Reagan administration in 1980" (pp. 85-86).

In all fairness, there is no convincing way to prove motive behind the American intervention in Greece. If one dismisses as mere rhetoric the many public and private warnings against Communism made by American military, diplomatic, political, and economic figures, it becomes possible to argue that the United States intervened out of pure self-interest; both in developing an economic dependency and in using Greece to ward off an imagined or fabricated Soviet menace there and elsewhere. But if one accepts the White House claim that the postwar era was a time of vast devastation for numerous countries—including Greece—

and that such a situation made them vulnerable to totalitarian aggression (i.e., Soviet Communism) as in the period following World War I, then America's perception became America's reality and thus brought about a foreign policy that was based on the best information of the time. If one disregards the impact of the civil war in Greece, it follows that the United States deserves condemnation for using military means to deal with what would have automatically become an economic problem. If one ignores the rightists in Greece and assumes that the various other political groups could have reached an accommodation, then Kofas might be correct in declaring that "A plausible solution to the sociopolitical and economic problems would have required the formation of a centerleft coalition committed to the strengthening of the state, the launching of fundamental social reforms, and the development of agriculture and industry" (p. 167).

Historians, however, cannot ignore the obvious. The Greek situation, though grounded in economic difficulties, had escalated into a military problem that needed resolution *before* economic assistance could have a chance to work. Kofas is correct in arguing that the United States exaggerated the Soviet threat in Greece and that the Truman Doctrine did not resolve the country's economic problems. But he is on extremely shaky ground in declaring that the "tragic Third Round could have been avoided if the United States had been predisposed to accept a political rather than a military solution" (pp. 97-98). The Truman Doctrine was not the catalyst" (p. 98) for the war; the Third Round was a natural followup to the First and Second Rounds that had been fought *before* the U.S. intervention. The American Mission for Aid to Greece, Kofas nonetheless insists, did little for the Greek economy "because it concentrated its efforts on the more exigent military problem" (p. 100). An accurate statement would be that AMAG did little for the Greek economy because it *had* to concentrate its efforts on the country's military problem.

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HOWARD JONE

Yorgos A. Kourvetaris and Betty A. Dobratz, *A Profile of Modern Greece: In Search of Identity*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987, ix + 226 p.

This is not a very good book and it is extraordinary that OUP should have published it. As a profile or outline of modern Greece it falls a long way behind McNeill's study, *The Metamorphosis of Greece since World War 2*, now more than a decade old. No overarching interpretation emerges from its pages, and what we are given instead is a loose bundle of assorted facts and other people's theories.

For all the methodological problems associated with the concept, the idea of trying to define the characteristics of a given nation's identity continues to attract us. Rightly, I believe: glancing at what has been done on this subject for, say, France and Germany, we await something of comparable quality for Greece, a country where this subject has a particular resonance. The comments of Kourvetaris and Dobratz, however, on the question of identity are rather disappointing: they quote without comment Ikaris' view that 'modern Greece was reborn after centuries of foreign oppression because the Greek consciousness learned from bitter experience to retain its cultural heritage when barbaric masters were about to snatch it away and destroy it utterly' (p. 178). On page 147 they refer to the 'cultural

and institutional continuity that has transmitted and maintained Greek identity throughout its long turbulent history'. This sort of vulgar nationalism should have no place today in any serious scholar's arsenal.

In general the authors give their own opinions second place to those of others. The book is really a survey—or better, compendium—of the existing literature on modern Greece. As such it is of doubtful value: summaries of other works are not always reliable and the authors are reluctant to pass judgement on them. Sometimes one text is cited to modify the interpretation of another, but without any indication being given of which the reader should accept (e.g. pp. 120–121). This makes it difficult to follow the authors' argument.

Nor can it be said that the text is a pleasure to read. One comes across sentences like: 'Greece's irregular and colourful landscape with its steep mountains, hills, valleys, basins, islands and coastline of 15,021 km, or 9,334 miles, never bores travellers' (p. 8). There are too many concatenations of abrupt, short sentences, each beginning faithfully with the subject of the verb (p. 71). After a while one begins to long for a little stylistic variation.

The book does have some good points. There is a lot of information on recent affairs, and students may appreciate having all this in one book. Yet a comparison with the last comprehensive survey of modern Greece, Campbell and Sherrard's *Modern Greece* (1968), does not work to the advantage of this work. Yes, it is more up-to-date, but without their predecessors' sure judgement this has made Kourvetaris and Dobratz hostages to fortune. I suspect they were aware of this themselves and became even more cautious in their judgements than might otherwise have been the case. Or is 'cautious' the right word? Referring to PASOK's claim in 1985 to have permanently reoriented the country, they comment: 'While it is too early to determine how 'permanent' the reorientation is, the road to change appears to be a Greek one with socialist elements' (p. 92). This looks suspiciously like a classic combination of truism and error. Unfortunately the book contains many other such remarks. The search for Greece's identity continues

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Howard Jones, *"A New Kind of War", America's Global Strategy and the Truman Doctrine in Greece*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, 316 pp.

Flying once from Honolulu to Saigon at the height of the Vietnam war, I noticed McGeorge Bundy, still at that time National Security Advisor but soon to be replaced by Walt Whitman Rostow, reading a copy of George Kousoulas' book on the Greek Civil war, *Revolution and Defeat: the Story of the Greek Communist Party*. Why had Bundy chosen this volume, published the year before, as reading material on an official trip to Vietnam? Because, it appeared, he thought there might be something in the American experience in Greece that could be applied seventeen years later in Southeast Asia.

At the time it seemed to me that this was a futile exercise. There was no lesson to be learned unless it was that the United States and its Vietnamese allies needed another Tito to close the Lao and Cambodian borders. In later years I decided this was too cavalier a

reaction. The Greeks and their American advisors had done a better job to achieve a happier conclusion, but what exactly accounted for the difference?

Now along comes Professor Howard Jones in a meticulously documented reexamination of the American role in the Greek civil war, to show us that there were many differences and many lessons which President Johnson and his aides might have learned from the Greek experience but chose to ignore.

A first lesson was that while some Americanization of the Greek war was unavoidable, the Truman Administration successfully resisted the pressure of those who favored introduction of U.S. combat forces and escalation of the scale of fighting. When a Joint U.S. Military Advisory and Planning Group was finally set up in November, 1947, it was comprised of ninety officers and eighty enlisted men. As of August 31, 1949, with the war nearing its conclusion but victory not yet achieved, JUSMARG was authorized a complement of 274 men but had only 191 on duty. By the end of the year the number was cut to 128. Although a far greater number of civilian advisors were attached to the aid mission, the Truman administration avoided the fatal mistake made later in Vietnam of trying to fight the war with U.S. forces. Similarly, U.S. policy, rigorously enforced by Marshall, was to resist pressure to increase the size of the Hellenic Armed Forces beyond the point that they could be adequately supported and their combat readiness assured. Neither of these precautions was observed by the Johnson Administration in Vietnam.

A second lesson was that although the Truman Doctrine was trumpeted as the start of a global struggle against Communist aggression, the Administration quickly throttled down to rhetoric after gaining Congressional support for a program of military and economic assistance. Truman, Marshall and Acheson (who succeeded Marshall as Secretary of State at the beginning of 1949) took pains to keep Congress and the American public accurately informed and to avoid arousing exaggerated expectations of early victory. As a result, although press coverage of the Greek civil war became almost as critical of U.S. policy as it did later in Vietnam, the Truman administration never entirely lost its credibility with the American public and with Congress. In addition, by eschewing the use of U.S. combat troops and a consequent need to undertake national mobilization the administration prevented criticism of its tactics from becoming rejection of its fundamental strategy. The difference with the Johnson administration's handling of public opinion during the Vietnam war is once again instructive.

A third lesson was that American military advisors came early to the conclusion, as Professor Jones reminds us, that "fighting in the Balkans would be primarily on the ground" and "the way to defeat guerillas was in hand-to-hand combat". Thus air warfare never became the kind of military miracle drug in Greece that it did in Southeast Asia and never led to the disastrously mistaken belief that, however unsuccessful ground operations might be, the war could somehow be won in the air. The Vietnam numbers game—body count, truck kills, bomb damage assessment—was rarely played in Greece where the test of military success was generally recognized by Greek and U.S. officers to be the ability to hold ground and protect people. The Hellenic Air Force fought most of the air war with Spitfires, Wellingtons, Harvards and Dakotas, which were poorly adapted to the requirements of close air support in the mountainous battlefields of Greece. The first shipment of U.S. Hell-Divers did not arrive until the final stages of the campaign in 1949. It says something about the realism of military planning in 1947 when we read that by the end of October of that year 500 mules had arrived from the U.S., "the first installment of many that were especially trained for mountain operations", Professor Jones observes. A year later when the Greek

army tried to employ British Centaur tanks in the first Grammos campaign the result was a fiasco. Obviously the military effort in Greece was better calibrated to the needs of the battlefield than it was in Vietnam where our disproportionate fire power and reliance on hightech logistics became part of the problem.

There are many other insights to be gained from *"A New Kind of War"*, including the ironic fact that the first appearance of the so-called Greek lobby in Washington seems to have been in the form of a warning to the Administration that unless a broadly-based government was established in Athens Greek-Americans might persuade Congress to cut aid to Greece. Professor Jone's central proposition—that the Truman administration followed a flexible policy designed both to secure victory in the Greek guerrilla war and to prevent it from spreading—is more convincing than the thesis contained in his title. The tragic misconception of the Johnson administration was to believe that the civil wars in Greece and Vietnam were basically alike—were similar expressions of "a new Kind of war". They were not. The real reasons why the insurgency was defeated in Greece are that the Greek Communists were unable to fight under the banner of anti-colonialism, that they lost their principal source of aid and sanctuary when Yugoslavia broke with the Soviet Union, and that the replacement of Markos by Zachariades caused the Communists to make the fatal mistake of abandoning guerilla tactics in favor of conventional warfare. While it is valuable to be reminded by Professor Jones that in general our policies were skillfully executed in Greece, we should not conclude from this that the Vietnam war could have been won with comparable methods. To paraphrase Tolstoy, all peaceful countries are alike; each belligerent country is at war in its own way.

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MONTEAGLE STEARNS*

Nikos Kazantzakis, *Russia: A Chronicle of Three Journeys in the Aftermath of the Revolution*. Translated by Michael Antonakes and Thanasis Maskaleris. Berkeley, California: Creative Arts Book Company, 1989, pp. 271.

Convinced that the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution was "the great experiment of the century", Nikos Kazantzakis made three separate journeys to Russia (from 1925 to 1930). He writes eloquently, often passionately, about his experiences.

Though Kazantzakis considered revising his work, he wisely rejected the venture, preferring the "certain spontaneous psychic sweep" of his writing—an opportunity to convey directly the very essence of "the Russian flame". Kazantzakis interprets this flame as an integral part of the "cosmogonic Force, which uses men as its carriers" to enact a specific, almost mystical purpose. This *Idea*, a pervasive one in the Kazantzakis *œuvre*, forms the philosophical epicenter of the *Chronicle*.

* Kazantzakis begins the *Chronicle* with a series of questions, for he wonders what he

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will find when his ship lands at Odessa. Has the Bolshevik revolution truly changed Russia? Is Russia holy, a paradise? Perhaps it is a Dantean hell, where the helpless are imprisoned in "circles of hunger, misery and madness". Such questions serve as a prelude, creating a sense of expectation, a mood of suspense.

When Kazantzakis lands at Odessa, however, his questions dissolve amid the teeming cauldron of reality. He presents a seemingly endless cascade of memorable images—from "piles of red apples" and people scurrying about the streets, to various shops and the ubiquitous picture of Lenin. This technique appropriately reflects the excitement, sometimes even the confusion, of the narrator.

Kazantzakis often responds to his physical environment by composing a paean, usually a celebration of one of the many struggles that occurred throughout Russian history. In Kiev, for example, he praises the "many races" of the "giant Russian mosaic", and then presents a capsulized record of their heroic accomplishments. In Moscow, he transforms the Kremlin into "the heart of the world"—it is also an occasion to relate the exploits of Ivan the Terrible. Be it the present or the distant past, he discovers evidence that Mother Russia is giving birth to a new *Idea*. It is precisely because of Kazantzakis' free association of concepts—and also because of his erudition and passionate language—that the *Chronicle* far exceeds the conventional limits of travel literature.

Kazantzakis' interests are virtually encyclopedic. In the chapter on "Red Justice" he observes a criminal trial, and writes eloquently about law. He visits convicts, wonders if society itself is not the perpetrator of crime ("The Red Prison"). Bewildered by his meeting with an impetuous student, he questions the humanitarian aspects of Soviet indoctrination ("The Red School"). He visits the Jewish Theater, examines priceless icons, speculates on the destiny of "Women in Russia", and writes panegyrics on "Tolstoi and Dostoevskii"—hoping to discover the quintessence of the Russian soul. From the splendor of St. Basil's Cathedral to an old *muzhik*, who "sits cross-legged on the snow-covered sidewalk"—everything and everyone is of significance, for each radiates with the intensity of "the Russian flame".

Elated, Kazantzakis sums up his experiences in the final chapter. "Someday", he writes, "future generations will characterize this 'epic undertaking' as the 'Russian miracle'".

The *Chronicle* ends on a note of hope. But the translators judiciously place it in a much larger context by including a brief critical essay by Professor Peter Bien, and a letter by Kazantzakis (to his dear friend Michael Anastasiou).

While Professor Bien notes Kazantzakis' "disenchantment" (because of Bolshevism's "imitation of the West"), it should be emphasized that this emotion is a result of Kazantzakis' interpretation of history as a "cosmogonic Force", an evolutionary process demanding commitment from sensitive individuals. From this perspective, the struggle is the touchstone of meaning, becomes far more important than the emotions of those involved—or the goal that is sought. Thus, Kazantzakis, affirming his belief in the courage and integrity of human nature, predicts a "post-communist" age—another step in the continuous, and often bloody struggle which allows humanity the opportunity to define itself.

That this volume is now available to an English-reading audience is a tribute to the dedication and skill of the translators, who have given us a work which will enrich our understanding of Kazantzakis, and one of the most significant events in world history.

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WILLIAM H. WASILEWSKI

Georgios Vizyenos, *My Mother's Sin and Other Stories*, Translated by William F. Wyatt, Jr. Hanover and London: Published for Brown University Press by University Press of New England, 1988, p. xvii+229.

George Vizyenos (1849-1896) is the earliest of the prose writers who at the end of the 19th century represent the flowering of modern Greek fiction. Although he first drew critical attention in Athens by his poetry, his reputation today rests on the short stories that comprise the present volume.

Vizyenos was born of humble parents in the town of Vizye (hence his surname) in Ottoman Thrace. Supported for many years by wealthy Greek patrons, he studied theology and philosophy in Constantinople, Cyprus, and Athens, but most of his university training he received in Germany, where he earned a doctorate in psychology at the University of Leipzig. After a prolonged residence abroad he returned to Athens in 1885 and there held a succession of teaching positions at the University and in secondary schools. The last four years of his relatively short life were blighted by severe mental illness: he died a paralytic in an insane asylum. Vizyenos' stories, all narrated in the first person, contain many details from the author's own experiences and situation. Although the narrator plays an important role in most of the stories, we cannot consider them (as some critics do) as merely straightforward autobiographical accounts, at least not until we have more evidence. Taken all together, these stories construct an uncertain world that is full of shifting appearances and emotional turmoil.

"My Mother's Sin", "The Only Journey of his Life", and "Who Was My Brother's Killer?" deal with painful incidents in the narrator's family life: In the first, the mother's obsessive love for her daughters is revealed to be the result of an overwhelming sense of guilt; in the second, the narrator's boyhood dreams of success, fed by the fairy tales his grandfather tells him, are shattered by the harsh realities of both their lives; and in the last, the killer turns out to be a kindly man, the least suspect of all the characters. Another story, "Moskov-Selim", is unusual in Greek literature for its penetrating psychology of an upright Turk, victimized by his family and his society. These four stories are often praised for their lively re-creation of Greco-Turkish society in 19th-century Thrace and Constantinople. Especially noteworthy are the subtle portrayal of the relationship between a Greek and a Turkish family in "My Brother's Killer" and the Greek folklore preserved in "The Only Journey". "Between Peiraeus and Naples" and "The Consequences of the Old Story"—this latter set in Germany—depict young men in the thrall of romantic love.

In this fine translation William Wyatt has rendered the narrative passages in *katharevousa* (an archaizing form of Greek that was then the official language) into smooth and lucid English prose. Here and there, however, too literal a translation of colloquialisms in the Greek dialogue results in awkward phrasing. For instance, the mother's words in "My Brother's Killer": "Today at last I can eat a little bread and it will go to my heart!" (p. 56) and "From the direction I feared, I suffered nothing; from the direction I felt secure, trouble came" (p. 57). A measure of the accuracy of the translation is that this reviewer spotted only three or four mistranslations of Greek idiom. For instance, "May it turn out true" (p. 58) should be "May you grow up big and strong [*tranepsis*]". The "dancers of the subterranean Typho" (p. 42) are singers, not dancers, and the Typhons are many, not one. More accurately, this would be "choirs of subterranean Typhons". There is also an error in the description of Kyamil's costume (p. 55). But such details hardly detract from the merit of this translation.

The translator's brief introductions to each story provide useful information, particularly about Greek and Turkish lexicon and pronunciation. It would also have been helpful if he had given explanations of such puzzling historical and cultural references as "Kleantheian toils" (p. 114) and students "bawling about Phalanx" (p. 116), where even the educated reader would not know that this last refers to the student militia. Readers will appreciate Roderick Beaton's preface, which discusses the author in the context of the Greek short story.

Vizyenos has been well served by this first English edition of his works.

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ELIZABETH CONSTANTINIDES

Stratis Myrivilis, *Life in the Tomb*, translated from Modern Greek original by Peter Bien—with a new Introduction by Peter Levi. Published for Dartmouth College by University Press of New England, Hanover and London, 1987, pp. 325+3pl.

Stratis Myrivilis (1892-1969) came from Mytilena, an island in the Aegean sea belonging since the ancient period to Greek Asia Minor; so he too has been considered one of the Asia Minor writers of the generation of the '30s. He entered Greek Literature with *Life in the Tomb*, regarded as the most important work of this generation. The historians of Neohellenic Literature believe that Myrivilis' work referred to above is neither a novel nor a collection of stories. The title *Life in the Tomb* derives from the Lamentations sung in Greek Orthodox Church on Good Friday.

Ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τάφῳ κατετέθης
Χριστέ, καὶ ἀγγέλων στρατιαί,
ἐξεπλήττοντο, συγκατάβασιν
δοξάζουσιν τὴν σὴν.

[Thou o Christ, the Life, in tomb was laid/and arms of angels were amazed, and they/glorified thy humiliation]

Life in the Tomb is a war novel written as a journal by a young intellectual Greek sergeant, Antonis Kostoulas, soldier at the Macedonian frontier during the First World War (1917). Kostoulas related his experiences of this terrible war in the trenches in a series of 57 units. On the one hand the narrator describes the horror of the war and on the other he remembers his past happiness in Lesbos, before the war; both constitute a Kind of diary, where Kostoulas, an educated and sensitive man, gives his impressions of the appalling slaughter and who, surrounded by barbed wire, minefields and sandbags, is rooted in a trench fighting an invisible enemy.

In *Life in the Tomb* each story can be read independently of the others. Kostoulas' letters are written to be read later, after the war, when the soldier, if indeed he survives, would return to his island. Myrivilis wrote the first sketches in trenches in Monastir, on the Macedonian frontier in 1917, and one chapter of his work was published in the newspaper *Néa Elláda* (Thessaloniki) in the same year. After his return from the campaign in Asia Minor, that was so tragic for Hellenism, he published the novel in sequences in the newspaper

of Mytilena, *Kapriána*; both those publications constituted the first edition (1924). The second edition (1930) had no chance because it was forbidden by the Metaxas' dictatorship (1936-1940) and then by the Nazis (1941-1944). The edition of 1955 had been revised and enjoyed successive reprintings. The work was translated into several languages. Bien's translation is based on the 1955 edition, which in turn was based on that of 1930.

Peter Bien's edition contains *Introduction*, *Historical Notes*, *Translator's Preface* and *Terms and References* (listed in alphabetical order for non-Greek readers). Two observations: the translator in his *Preface* thanks a colleague "for information on Macedonian dialect". Surely, Mr. Peter Bien must mean the slavic idiom of Southern Yugoslavia. The explanations in *Terms and References* are very important—see, for example, the expression Great Idea: "The driving force of Greek nationalism from the end of the nineteenth century until the (*temporary*?) destruction of the Idea in 1922, when the Greeks were forced out of Anatolia".

Briefly, Peter Bien's translation, with his *Preface* and notes makes *Life in the Tomb* accessible to English-speaking people and, at the same time, has turned this Greek masterpiece into something not much less than an English one, as C. Woodhouse wrote in the *Times Literary Supplement*.

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ATHANASSIS E. KARATHANASSIS

Ἰωάννης Δ. Ψαράς, *Ὁ θεσμός τῆς πολιτοφυλακῆς στὶς βενετικὲς κτήσεις τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ χώρου (16ος-18ος αἰ.)* [L'institution de la garde civique dans les colonies de Venise situées sur le territoire hellénique (durant les XVI et XVIIe siècles)], éditions Vantias, Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 166.

La République Sérénissime de Venise, dont la puissance prédominait dans l'espace méditerranéen et en Orient durant des siècles, n'avait jamais formé une armée systématiquement organisée; la principale raison en était que les autorités vénitiennes craignaient un éventuel accroissement de la puissance militaire qui pourrait bouleverser l'ordre des choses. D'autre part, c'était sa puissance navale qui fondait son empire. Cependant, elle avait besoin d'avoir à sa disposition une armée à la Terra ferma; celle-là était formée de mercenaires et pouvait l'aider à l'impact de sa réputation. Une branche de cette armée de terre, une sorte de garde civique, était constituée d'hommes indigènes portant différents noms, tels que *ordinanze*, *cernide*, *miliziane* ou autres. L'historique de cette institution militaire de la Sérénissime et ses activités durant trois siècles (du XVe au XVIIIe s.) sur les territoires helléniques, occupés alors par les Vénitiens, fait l'objet du livre de Dr. Joannis Psaras. L'auteur comble ici une lacune importante dans l'histoire militaire vénitienne—l'institution étant inconnue même des spécialistes de l'histoire de Venise. Ses principales sources sont puisées dans l'*Archivio di Stato di Venezia* et divers autres fonds.

Dans son premier chapitre l'auteur étudie les différentes appellations attribuées habituellement à ces mercenaires de Venise (*millitia*, *guardia*, *cernide*, *cerne*, etc.). Mr. Psaras suggère que cette institution de garde civique fonctionnait officiellement déjà depuis 1519.

en Crète. Dans un autre sous-chapitre l'auteur étudie les origines de l'institution qu'il cherche chez les *miliziani de la Terra ferma*, les *ordinanze* de l'Europe centrale du XVe siècle. Ce qui est intéressant est que l'auteur accentue la différence entre ces *ordinanze*, *cernide*, *miliziane* et ce corps de grecs professionnels engagés au service des Vénitiens, durant la période allant du XVe au XVIIIe s. les fameux *stradiotti*, dont il cherche et discute la provenance. Dans le chapitre qui suit Dr. Psaras présente les échelons de la hiérarchie du personnel de cette garde civique, telle qu'elle apparaît sur les territoires helléniques, plus particulièrement en Crète et dans les îles ioniennes: officiers, sous-officiers et soldats dont il cherche le modèle dans la hiérarchisation de cette même institution en Crète. Suivant les recherches de l'auteur au sommet se trouve le capitaine général (gouverneur) de l'île (*capitano generale di Candia*), suivent les colonels (*colonelli*), les capitans (*capitani*), les *soprintendenti*, les *capi di cento* ou *centurioni*, les *luogotenenti*, les *alfieri*, les *sergenti*, les *maggiori*, les *caporali* ou *capi di squadra*. L'auteur se réfère par la suite aux responsabilités de chacun d'eux puisant toujours ses renseignements dans diverses sources. Il se réfère, également, aux exercices effectués par la garde civique et les devoirs du personnel, à savoir, monter la garde, faire la patrouille sur les côtes. Les hommes, toujours des indigènes, qui formaient ce corps de garde en Crète étaient vraisemblablement attachés à la République Sérénissime de Venise, mais, toutefois, ils s'intéressaient plutôt à leurs affaires et intérêts personnels négligeant souvent leurs devoirs militaires. Cette situation avait énormément préoccupé leurs supérieurs les amenant à prévoir des mesures pour l'affronter.

Un autre point de la recherche de Dr. Psaras touche le statut économique du corps de garde: une grande partie des dépenses allait au paiement des salaires des officiers, tandis que les simples citoyens engagés au service de ce corps étaient simplement exonérés de certaines charges ou en étaient de quelque privilège qui facilitait l'exercice de leur activité professionnelle.

Dans un autre chapitre le chercheur étudie le fonctionnement de la garde civique dans les diverses régions géographiques de la Crète, à Chania et à Apocoronon, tel qu'il apparaît dans le premier recensement effectué par Marc Antonio Bernardo (1536), qui élève à 9000 hommes le contingent de l'île (âgés de 16 à 50 ans). Ce recensement est d'autant plus précieux qu'ils nous fournit de renseignements d'importance militaire aussi bien que sociologique; ils nous révèle une série de noms et de professions des crétois des XVIe et XVIIe siècles.

Les rapports présentés par la suite, datés par leurs propres auteurs et fonctionnaires de cette garde civique Foscarini (1577), Zuanne Mocenigo (1583, 1589), Guilio Gazzoni (1584), Filippo Pasqualigo (1594), nous révèlent un nombre élevé de Grecs, membres de la garde civique; Morcenigo, par exemple, cite un nombre de 12.592 hommes, dont 4278 étaient recensés dans les villes et 8321 hommes dans les villages. L'auteur précise, par ailleurs, que ce recensement laissait déjà apparaître quelques inconvénients dans le fonctionnement de cette institution imposée par les Vénitiens; des hommes indisciplinés ou fuyant le service militaire pour entrer dans l'état ecclésiastique, l'ignorance de l'usage des armes, mais, surtout, une réticence de la part des Crétois à l'égard des Vénitiens qu'ils tenaient pour occupants, ce qui entraînait, également, la méfiance de ces derniers et les soupçons d'une révolte possible des indigènes. Le gouverneur F. Pasqualigo proposait, en 1594, à ses supérieurs des mesures à prendre contre le problème de l'indiscipline. Quelques années plus tard, en 1608, le rapport de Sagredo, insistait, surtout, sur le nombre d'hommes en service qu'il élevait à 13.600, tandis que ceux de Gierollimo da Lezze (1621), de Pietro Giustiniani (1630) de Francesco Morosini (1621) proposaient des réformes pour le meilleur fonctionnement de l'institution. Sur ce même point les remarques de Francesco Basilicata (1630) présentent

un intérêt particulier. Par ailleurs le rapport de Nicola Gualto de Priorati (1633) fournit des listes détaillées de sites géographiques et de noms de *centurioni* qui agissaient dans les régions de Chania, Rethymnon, Hérakleion et Siteia en Crète. Dr. Psaras conclue sa recherche sur les activités de ce corps de garde civique en Crète en constatant que, durant la longue période de son fonctionnement (1521 à 1630), le nombre de personnes qui s'y étaient engagées avait augmenté de 2.000 et s'élevait, en 1640, à 17.864 hommes.

Dans les colonnies vénitiennes sur les îles ioniennes ce corps de garde était composé d'hommes provenant de la campagne. Dr. Psaras fait même la découverte que des proches de la famille du poète national grec D. Solomos avaient participé à cette garde. Ce corps de garde civique de l'île de Cythère était des mieux organisés ce qui avait assuré son fonctionnement jusqu'en 1863/4, à savoir, jusqu'à la fin de l'occupation de l'île par les Anglais.

A Corfou et à Parga la constitution de ce corps de garde remonte à 1578-1583 et bien au-delà, celui-ci était composé de 980 *ordinanze*, et ses officiers, peu attachés à leurs devoirs. L'institution est conservée dans les îles ioniennes jusqu'en 1798, année qui marque la fin de la domination vénitienne sur les îles. Parmi les noms répertoriés le chercheur trouve des grecs connus pour d'autres activités culturelles; c'est le cas du peintre N. Doxaràs qui, avant de s'illustrer dans l'hagiographie (post 1744), avait exercé les fonctions de *major* de la garde civique. La même institution, bien organisée, fonctionnait à Zante déjà avant 1542; selon les sources, ses hommes avaient participé auprès des autorités vénitiennes, à la défense de l'île contre l'invasion turque de 1571. Elle avait les mêmes problèmes et devait affronter les mêmes difficultés: abus de pouvoir de la part des officiers, indiscipline des gardiens.

En Céphalonie la garde civique apparaît bien organisée dans la deuxième décennie du XVIIIe s.; ses *stradioti* étaient chargés de la sécurité de l'île: ces mêmes responsabilités étaient, également, attribuées à la *cavallaria* et la *guardia*; pourtant, la date de sa fondation remonte, selon les sources, à l'année 1546. Le nombre d'hommes composant la garde civique s'était accru durant toute cette période allant de 300 hommes (XVIe s.) à 1200 (XVIIIe s.). A S. Maura (Leukade) l'institution de la garde civique apparaît en 1686; ses hommes sont chargés de la garde de l'île et de sa forêt "Skaros". Ses hommes devaient affronter des problèmes particuliers que causait l'immigration clandestine de Grecs provenant des contrées occupées par les Turcs. D'ailleurs plusieurs habitants des îles avaient voulu participer à la guerre russo-turque en 1770 ce qui aggravait la situation. A Tinos la garde civique constituée au début du XVIIe s. était chargée, et devait assurer, le service de nuit (*nictovigli*) de la garde des côtes de l'île et souvent exercer la fonction de douanier; ils avaient, également, participé aux côtés des autorités vénitiennes à la défense de l'île contre les fréquentes attaques des Turcs. En Chypre les hommes de la garde civique provenaient dans leur majorité des milieux ruraux, de la classe des *parici* et des *franconnati* et devaient défendre les côtes et aider les *stradioti* à la défense des villes Nicosie et Ammohostos (Famagusta). A Athènes, également, après la libération de la ville par Francesco Morosini (1689), une garde civique de 500 hommes était constituée pour défendre le pays contre les invasions turques.

Dans l'Appendice, qui clot la recherche de Dr. Psaras, figurent les documents les plus importants, les facsimilés des documents et la liste des sources. L'importance des renseignements apportés par Dr. Psaras rend le livre intéressant et nécessaire à ceux qui sont désireux de connaître l'histoire des territoires grecs qui ont longtemps vécu sous la domination vénitienne.

Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη Παλαιολόγειος Ἐποχή. ΚΒ' Δημήτρια. Ἐπιστημονικὸ συμπόσιο. Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Βλατάδων, 29-31 Ὀκτωβρίου 1987. Θεσσαλονίκη 1989 (= Κέντρο Ἱστορίας Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ Δήμου Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἀποτελεῖς ἐκδόσεις 3).

Auf die Initiative des Bürgermeisters von Thessaloniki und des Organisationskomités der 22. Dimitria, der alljährlichen Feiern kulturell-religiösen Charakters zu Ehren des Stadtpatrons, hin, fand in deren Rahmen vom 29.-31. Oktober 1987 in den Räumlichkeiten des Vlatadon-Klosters ein wissenschaftliches Symposium mit dem Thema "Christliches Thessaloniki: die Palaiologeneποχή" statt. Nun liegt unter der sorgfältigen Redaktion von Athanasios E. Karathanasis als Veröffentlichung des "Zentrums für die Geschichte Thessalonikis" der Band vor, in dem die meisten der auf dem Symposium gehaltenen Vorträge enthalten sind (nur drei von sechzehn Vorträgen finden sich nicht darin).

Übersichtlich in die fünf Bereiche Geschichte, Literatur, Kultur, Recht und Kunst eingeteilt, verschaffen die jeweiligen Beiträge dem Leser in ihrer Gesamtheit ein umfassendes und überschaubares Bild von der byzantinischen "Mithauptstadt" in den letzten Jahrhunderten des Byzantinischen Reiches. Apostolos E. Vakalopoulos, der Altmeister der neugriechischen Historiographie, führt mit seinem Beitrag "Ἐνικὴ θεώρηση τῆς Παλαιολόγειας ἐποχῆς" allgemein in die spätbyzantinische Zeit und ihre spezifischen Kennzeichen ein. In einem umfassenden Überblick geht er auf die sozialen Strukturen, die Kunst, die von Thessaloniki aus auf ganz Mazedonien und bis nach Serbien ausstrahlte, sowie die kulturelle Potenz in der Gestalt zahlreicher insbesondere mit Thessaloniki verbundener Gelehrter jener Zeit ein. Besonderen Wert legt er auf das neue, nach 1204 allmählich entstandene Bewußtsein der Griechen, sich nicht mehr als "Ρωμαῖοι", sondern als "Ἕλληνες" zu betrachten.

Athanasios A. Angelopoulos ("Τὰ ἰδεολογικὰ ρεύματα στὴν Μακεδονία καὶ στὴν Ὁράκη κατὰ τὴν Παλαιολόγεια περίοδο. Τὸ Ἰσλάμ στὴν Εὐρώπη (14ος αἰ.).") stellt die ideologischen Orientierungen religiösen, politischen und sozialen Charakters jener Zeit dar: auf byzantinischer Seite die Orthodoxie in ihren damaligen Erscheinungsformen von Hesychasmus und Zelotismus, die ihre Zentren in Thessaloniki in Makedonien und Konstantinopel in Thrakien hatten, auf osmanischer Seite den Islam, der damals zum erstenmal auf südosteuropäischem Boden auftauchte. Dabei legt er besonderes Gewicht auf die Verbreitung des Islam durch den auf schiitischen Ursprung zurückgehenden Bektaschi-Orden, der bei der religiösen Durchdringung und Islamisierung des westlichen Kleinasiens und des Balkan entscheidende Dienste für den Vormarsch der Türken leistete, wobei sein religiöser Synkretismus, der nicht wenige christliche Elemente umfaßte, es ihm erleichterte, unter den zahlreichen häretischen Gruppierungen (Nestorianer, Bogomilen, Paulikianer) in jenen Gegenden Anhänger zu finden. Etwas gewagt erscheint mir indes der Versuch, einen Zusammenhang der Ereignisse jener Zeit mit denjenigen der von den iranischen Schiiten getragenen islamischen Revolution der achtziger Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts herzustellen. Der Historiker sollte sich stets vor einer vordergründigen Aktualisierung seines Gegenstandes hüten, zumal sich in dem betreffenden Fall die synkretistische und relativ tolerante Lehre und Praxis der Bektaschis kaum mit dem engen Fundamentalismus der iranischen Ayatollahs vergleichen lassen.

Einen exemplarischen Einblick in das geistige Leben Thessalonikis zu jener Zeit gibt uns Athanasios E. Karathanasis anhand der erhaltenen Korrespondenz zwischen zwei der

gebildetsten Byzantiner jener Zeit, dem Thessalonikenser Gelehrten Demetriós Kydones und seinem Schüler, dem Kaisersohn und Statthalter der "Mithauptstadt", Manuel Palaiologos, dem späteren Kaiser Manuel II. ("Ξαναδιαβάζοντας την ἀλληλογραφία Δημητρίου Κυδωνῆ καὶ Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγου (1382-1387)"), und verdeutlicht die intellektuelle und politische Stimmung jener Jahre, die sich in der gemeinsamen Grundhaltung der beiden ein exzellentes Altgriechisch schreibenden Korrespondenten angesichts der Probleme und drohenden Katastrophe ihrer Zeit spiegelt. Jenseits ihrer konfessionellen Unterschiede (Kydones war zum Katholizismus übergetreten, während die orthodoxe Haltung Manuels, die sich in seinen "Dialogen mit einem Perser" verdeutlicht, bis zu seinem Lebensende, das er nach altem byzantinischen Brauch als Mönch erwartete, außer Zweifel stand) war ihnen der Widerstand gegen die Türken und die politische und militärische Zusammenarbeit und Solidarität der christlichen Staaten anstelle partikularer Interessen oberstes Gebot der Stunde.

In der zweiten, der (theologisch-hagiographischen) Literatur gewidmeten Abteilung stellt Theodoros N. Zisis ("Τὸ θεολογικὸν ἔργον τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως ἀρχιεπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης Νεῖλου Καβάσιλα") uns den weniger bekannten, zumeist im Schatten seines berühmteren Zeitgenossen und direkten Vorgängers im Amt, Gregorios Palamas, stehenden Erzbischof (1361-1363) von Thessaloniki Neilos Kabasilas vor. Zusammen mit dem späteren Ökumenischen Patriarchen Philotheos Kokkinos, wie Kabasilas ein gebürtiger Thessalonikenser, bildeten die drei, allesamt durch ihr Leben mit Thessaloniki verbunden, die Trias der Verteidiger der palamitisch-hesychastischen Lehre. Leider konnte Kabasilas theologisches Werk bis heute, nicht zuletzt aufgrund mangelnder kritischer Textausgaben (Zisis arbeitet mit einigen Mitarbeitern und Schülern an einer Gesamtausgabe der Werke des byzantinischen Theologen) noch nicht richtig gewürdigt werden. Neben einem Überblick über das Werk gelingt es dem Verfasser, einige umstrittene Einzelheiten aus der Biographie Kabasilas plausibel zu klären.

P. B. Paschos lenkt in seinem Beitrag "Ὁ Μαρθαριὸς Βλάσταρης καὶ οἱ πατέρες τῶν ἐπὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων" nach einem kurzen Überblick über das theologisch-apoloretische und hymnologisch-poetische Werk des im allgemeinen nur als Kanonisten bekannten Mönchs die Aufmerksamkeit auf seine Beschäftigung mit der Zahl aller Ökumenischen Konzilsväter, die er auf 2.000 veranschlagt; unter Zuhilfenahme älterer, auf antike Traditionen zurückgehende "Zahlenwissenschaft" (ἀριθμοσοφία) gelangt Blastaris schließlich zu einer symbolischen Interpretation der Zahl.

Antonios Papadopoulos berichtet in seinem Beitrag ("Ἐγκώμια στὸν Ἅγιο Δημήτριο κατὰ τὴν παλαιολόγεια ἐποχὴ καὶ ὁ ἐορτασμός τοῦ Ἁγίου στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη") über Enkomien aus der Palaiologenzeit auf den Hl. Demetrios (verfaßt von Nikolaos Kabasilas, Konstantinos Armenopoulos, Gregorios Palamas, Philotheos Kokkinos) sowie die Verehrung des Heiligen in seiner Patronatsstadt, bzw. seine Verehrung darüberhinaus, allgemein im Byzantinischen Reich und gesamten byzantinischen "Commonwealth", was nicht ohne Bezug auf das Verhältnis zu Thessaloniki als der Stadt des Heiligen blieb.

Ioannia Fountoulis vertieft diesen Aspekt (im Abschnitt über den Kultus) in seinem Aufsatz über die Besonderheiten der liturgischen Praxis in Thessaloniki zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts ("Ἱδιορρυθμίαι τῆς λειτουργικῆς πράξεως τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ 15' αἰῶνος"), indem er auf die ausgedehnten Feiern zu Ehren des Stadtpatrons und die liturgische Ausgestaltung seines Gedächtnisses nach dem Vorbild der Feier des Osterfestes (unter Symeon von Thessaloniki kam es zu einer Ausdehnung der Vorfeier auf eine ganze Woche, also eine eigene "Karwoche" für den Heiligen), sowie interessante Ein-

zelheiten des Typikon, das Mysterienspiel von den drei Jünglingen im Feuerofen und die in der Stadt üblichen Prozessionen eingeht.

Grigorios Th. Stathis beschäftigt sich in seinem musikwissenschaftlichen und kodi-kologischen Beitrag "Η άσματική διαφοροποίηση όπως καταγράφεται στον Κώδικα ΕΒΕ 2548 του έτους 1336" mit der Handschrift 2548 der Athener Nationalbibliothek, die Kom-positionen der großen byzantinischen Kirchenmusiker des 14. Jahrhunderts, wie Ioannis Koukouzelis, Georgios Panaretos, Xenos Korones, Tzaknopoulos, Georgios Domestikos, Kontopetres u.a. enthalten. Dem umfassenden Inhaltsverzeichnis des Kodex folgt eine Analyse der Terminologie und Gesangspraxis, eine Vorstellung der einzelnen Komponisten usw. Am Schluß finden sich 12 Tafeln mit Bildern der Handschrift.

Den Abschluß dieses dritten Teils bildet der Beitrag "Η θεία λατρεία στο "Άγιον Όρος" von Archimandrit Georgios Kapsanis, dem Abt des Athosklosters Grigoriou, der, ausgehend vom Erlebnis und der Bedeutung der Gottesdienste auf dem Athos heute, dieses im Verlauf der Jahrhunderte fast unveränderte Erlebnis auf dem heiligen Berge der Ortho-doxie als wesentliches Element für die Zeit des 14. Jahrhunderts beschreibt und damit etwas zum Symposium beiträgt, was üblicherweise übergangen wird, nämlich die Frömmigkeits-praxis und der Vollzug im Leben. Im übrigen weist dieser Beitrag auch unübersehbar auf den beständigen Einfluß des Athos seit seinem Bestehen auf die Geschichte und das geistige Klima in Thessaloniki (bis zum heutigen Tag) hin.

Dem Bereich des Rechts sind drei Aufsätze gewidmet. Der erste von Metropolit Pante-leimon (Rodopoulos) von Tyroloi und Serention, dem Leiter der Stiftung für Patristische Studien im Vlatadon-Kloster ("Τό Σύνταγμα του Μαθαίου Βλάσταρη και η επίδρασή του στο σλαβικό κόσμο") schlägt einen weiten Bogen von der spät-byzantinischen Ge-schichte über die Einwirkung des Syntagma des Blastaris auf das Recht und die Rechts-kodifikationen in den verschiedenen slavischen Ländern, von Serbien und Bulgarien bis nach Rußland. Mehr für den Rechtshistoriker und Kenner der Materie von Nutzen sind der Aufsatz von Konstantinos A. Vavouskos "Τό έμπράγματον δικαίον εις την Έξάβι-βλον του Άρμενοπούλου" eine exakte und genaue Untersuchung des Sachenrechts in der Hexabiblos des Armenopoulos, die während der gesamten Periode der Turkokratie gültiges Recht für die griechische, bzw. orthodoxe Millet war und nach der Errichtung des griechischen Staates von 1835 bis 1946, d.h. bis zur Einführung des heute gültigen Bürger-lichen Gesetzbuches, in Griechenland geltendes Recht war. Von ähnlicher Präzision ge-prägt ist der Beitrag von Georgios A. Nakos "Προβλήματα βυζαντινού κληρονομικού δικαίου επί Παλαιολόγων. Η λειτουργική ισχύς της Νεαρᾶς 26 Άνδρονίκου Β΄ Παλαιο-λόγου", der einige Besonderheiten des byzantinischen Erbrechts an einem Fall exemplifi-ziert, der vor dem Patriarchatsgericht in Konstantinopel verhandelt wurde und nach der Synodalentscheidung des Patriarchen Athanasios I. (1304) durch die Νεαρᾶ 26 von Andro-nikos II. (1305/06) bestätigt wurde.

Zu bedauern ist es, daß von den insgesamt drei Vorträgen zur Kunstgeschichte nur derjenige von Konstantinos D. Kalokyris "Η θεολογία του φωτός και η παλαιολόγια ζωγραφική" in unserem Band erhalten ist. Ganz abgesehen von seinen interessanten Beob-achtungen zur Malerei der Palaiologenzeit macht er auch einige bemerkens- und beherr-zigswerte methodologische Anmerkungen. Seiner Auffassung nach ist nämlich die by-zantinische Kunstgeschichte zu lange von den Methoden und Prioritäten der westlich ge-prägten Kunstgeschichte beherrscht gewesen, die in allererster Linie auf ästhetische und ma-teriellimmanente Kriterien ausgerichtet war. Gerade die Beschäftigung mit dem Palamismus

macht deutlich, wie wenig man letztlich die spätbyzantinische und frühe metabyzantinische Malerei (die "Kretische Schule" z.B.) verstehen kann, wenn man nicht zugleich mit der Theologie jener Zeit und den Auffassungen des Hesychasmus vertraut ist. Solange dies nicht der Fall ist, verharrt man auf der rein technischen Ebene der Ikonographie und dringt nicht zur Ikonologie, dem eigentlichen Wesen der byzantinischen Kunst, vor.

An dem insgesamt gesehen äußerst positiven Bild des Bandes, der ein umfassendes und vieldimensionales Bild jener politisch und sozial so chaotischen, kulturell und geistig so fruchtbaren Epoche zeichnet, wäre fast nicht auszusetzen, würden nicht einige unangenehme, aber offenbar unausrottbare Druckfehler bei nichtgriechischen Begriffen und Namen als kleine Schönheitsfehler verbleiben, die aber leicht zu verschmerzen sind.

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EKKEHARD KRAFT

Athanassios E. Karathanassis, *L'Hellénisme en Transylvanie. L'activité culturelle, nationale et religieuse des compagnies commerciales helléniques de Sibiu et de Braşov aux XVIII-XIX siècles*, Thessalonique 1989 (Institute for Balkan Studies 205).

Der Verfasser, der sich mit etlichen Monographien und zahllosen Aufsätzen bereits seit langem als vorzüglicher Kenner der griechischen Diaspora zur Zeit der Turkokratie und ihrer bedeutenden Rolle für die kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Regionen der Balkanhalbinsel, aber auch darüber hinaus zu West- und Osteuropa ausgewiesen hat, legt nun als jüngste Frucht seiner Forschungen den zu rezensierenden Band über das Griechentum in Siebenbürgen vor. Angesichts der Bedeutung, die dieses Thema über die griechische Geschichte hinaus für die südosteuropäische, bzw. die gesamte europäische Geschichte hat, ist es nur zu begrüßen, daß K. sein Buch in französischer Sprache veröffentlicht hat, so daß es über den Kreis der griechophonen Kenner der neueren griechischen Geschichte hinaus allen Interessierten sprachlich zugänglich ist.

Um es gleich vorwegzunehmen: der Autor hat auf der Grundlage intensiver Archivforschungen in Bukarest, Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, Athen und im Athoskloster Xiropotamou eine Arbeit vorgelegt, die sämtliche kulturhistorischen Aspekte des Themas ausführlich behandelt und uns ein umfangreiches und erschöpfendes Bild vorführt. "L'Hellénisme en Transylvanie" dürfte, wie zuletzt "Οι Έλληνες λόγιοι στη Βλαχία", zum Standardwerk werden.

In einer übersichtlichen und dem Stand der Forschung entsprechenden Einleitung, die den Rahmen für K.'s Untersuchung setzt, beschreibt er die Genese der griechischen Kaufmannskolonien in Hermannstadt und Kronstadt, ihren rechtlichen Status, ihre von Autonomie geprägte Verwaltungsstruktur, die Beziehungen zur Zentralregierung und den örtlichen Behörden in Siebenbürgen, das nationale System der Kompanien (gehörten ihnen schließlich neben den Griechen, die das Gros der Händler ausmachten, auch andere, v.a. orthodoxe Händler an—jener "conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant" im Sinne Stoianovichs also—, nämlich Aromunen, Serben und Bulgaren, mitunter aber auch Armenier, Albaner und Juden) und schließlich ihre kommerzielle Tätigkeit.

Die beiden Hauptteile sind dann je einer der beiden Handelskompanien gewidmet, wobei das jeweils erste Kapitel (*Son école, sa bibliothèque et ses livres*) sich mit dem Bildungswesen beschäftigt. In beiden Städten mußten die Handelskompanien über 100 Jahre seit ihrer Gründung warten, bis ihnen von den Behörden die Errichtung eigener Schulen erlaubt wurde (in Hermannstadt gab es von 1636-1766 keine Schule, in Kronstadt von 1678-1796). Über die Namen der Lehrer an den griechischen Schulen in den beiden Städten sind wir durch die Quellen fast lückenlos unterrichtet (für Hermannstadt finden wir von 1766 bis 1840 30 Namen, für Kronstadt von 1796 bis 1860 ebenfalls 30 Namen, hier allerdings mit größeren Lücken, dafür sind wir in diesem Fall über die Schulerjahrgänge 1837-1841 unterrichtet, sowie die Namen einiger Kommissare der Schule zwischen 1800 und 1834). Die Unterrichtsinhalte beschränkten sich am Anfang auf praktische Ziele, "*le but était 'patriotique' et 'commerciale'*", d.h., sie waren auf die Bewahrung der griechisch-orthodoxen Identität und die Ausbildung der Schüler für ihre späteren beruflichen Bedürfnisse als Kaufleute, die die Handelsgeschäfte ihrer Vater übernehmen sollten, ausgerichtet. Dazu gehörten als praktische Fächer Rechnen und Deutsch, Griechisch und die Unterweisung in der orthodoxen Religionslehre. Später verbreitete sich die Schulbildung über die rein praktische Ausrichtung hinaus. Die Lehrer hatten oft enge Kontakte mit den Zentren des Auslandsgriechentums wie Wien, Venedig oder den fürstlichen Akademien in Bukarest und Iaşi und trugen so als kulturelle Vermittler auf ihre Weise für die geistige Vorbereitung der Erhebung gegen die osmanische Herrschaft in der Diaspora bei.

Die Finanzierung erfolgte wie bei den zahlreichen anderen griechischen Schulen jener Zeit, die vom 17. Jahrhundert an entstanden, zumeist durch Stiftungen wohlhabender Kaufleute (so z. B. der Großkaufmann Panagiotis Chatzinikos, Stifter der Schule zu Kronstadt, dessen Stiftungsurkunde im Dokumentenanhang abgedruckt ist), aber auch von Intellektuellen oder Priestern (so Manassis Iliadis und der Priester Neophytos Nomikos in Hermannstadt). Die vom Stiftungskapital abgeworfenen Zinsen kamen für die laufenden Kosten, vor allem die Entlohnung der Lehrer auf, sowie für Einrichtung und Ausbau der Bibliotheken der Schule, die auch durch testamentarische Schenkungen bedacht wurden.

In dem jeweiligen zweiten Kapitel (*Son activité culturelle, nationale et religieuse*) untersucht K. die kulturelle Aktivität der Kolonie. Dabei hebt er v. a. die Anwesenheit zahlreicher Gelehrter und *hommes de lettres*, wie Ieremias Kakavelas und Ilarion Kigalas im 17., Manassis Iliadis, Athanasios Stageiritis (der von 1802-1806 Lehrer in Hermannstadt, danach bis 1809 in Kronstadt war), Neophytos Doukas, Neophytos Kavsokalyvitis und Iosipos Moisiodax im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert hervor, wobei viele sich in beiden Städten aufhielten. Seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts erhielt jedoch Kronstadt in kultureller Hinsicht ein gewisses Übergewicht. Ebenso wichtig ist die Bedeutung der beiden Kolonien im Zusammenhang mit der nationalen Erhebung von 1821: der tatkräftigen finanziellen und ideellen Unterstützung bei ihrer Vorbereitung sowie bei der Aufnahme von griechischen Flüchtlingen nach dem Zusammenbruch der Erhebung des Alexandros Ypsilantis in der Moldau 1821, von denen viele aufgrund der geographischen Nähe nach Siebenbürgen flüchteten. Gerade angesichts der ablehnenden Haltung der österreichischen Regierung unter Metternich gegenüber der griechischen Revolution spielte die Unterstützung durch die griechischen Kolonien in Siebenbürgen für ihre Landsleute eine wichtige Rolle.

Der letzte Teil dieser zweiten Kapitel beschäftigt sich dann ausführlich mit der Kirche der Kaufmannskompanie, die für die Aufrechterhaltung der nationalen und religiösen Identität von äußerster Wichtigkeit war. Die Bewahrung von Orthodoxie und Gräzität gegen

den Widerstand der katholischen österreichischen Behörden und ihren Druck zur Annahme der Union mit Rom (dem Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts ja ein Teil der orthodoxen rumänischen Bevölkerung in Siebenbürgen erlegen war), sowie das Beharren auf der griechischen Liturgiesprache gegenüber der autochthonen rumänischen Orthodoxie waren hierfür entscheidend. K. ist es gelungen, eine Liste der Seelsorger zusammenzustellen, wobei auffällt, daß die in Kronstadt tätigen Geistlichen allesamt dem Xiropotamou-Kloster auf dem Athos entstammten, während die Herkunft der Geistlichen in Hermannstadt äußerst heterogen war, wir finden sogar einen Araber aus Jerusalem unter ihnen. Anzunehmen ist, daß vor der Errichtung regulärer griechischer Schulen den Geistlichen eine Art Primärunterricht in den griechischen Gemeinden oblag, während später dann, vertraglich festgelegt, der Lehrer zugleich das Amt des Vorsängers in der Kirche zu übernehmen und für eine gewisse kirchenmusikalische Ausbildung seiner Schüler Sorge zu tragen hatte.

Nach der knapp und präzise resümierenden *conclusion* bilden einige Dokumente, die sich zum einen mit Schulfragen (Stiftungsurkunde, Beschlüsse über die Schule, Vertrag mit einem Lehrer), zum anderen mit der jeweiligen griechischen Kirche befassen, den Abschluß. Ein doppelter Index (für in lateinischer und in griechischer Schrift geschriebene Namen) am Ende stellt in seiner Vollständigkeit ein wertvolles Arbeitsinstrument dar.

Einige Kleinigkeiten seien aber dennoch korrigierend angemerkt. So wird auf S. 71f. nicht ganz deutlich, daß es sich bei Chrysanthos Notaras nicht um den Verfasser der "*Ἱστορία τῶν Πατριάρχων Ἱεροσολύμων*" handelt, sondern lediglich um denjenigen, der das Werk seines Onkels Dositheos erweitert und für den Druck vorbereitet hat. Auf S. 74 ist nicht klar, ob Dimitrios Darvaris seiner Sekundärbildung in Zemun und Ruma (fehlt hier vielleicht ein Komma?) nachgegangen ist oder man irrtümlicherweise die beiden Städte für eine gehalten hat. Auf S. 102 wird der rumänische Metropolit von Siebenbürgen, Andrei Şaguna "Andrea" genannt, bei diesen beiden letzten Fällen ist es aber auch gut möglich, daß der bei fremdsprachigen Texten in griechischen Druckereien wütende Druckfehlerteufel wieder einmal zugeschlagen hat, wie dies auch bei zahlreichen deutschen Begriffen (z. B. auf S. 94 "Im Enkehrwirthchause zur Goldenen Kugel" oder S. 79 "Endebeschreibung der Vindedürges", "Arbeitung zur Lateinische Sprache") der Fall gewesen zu sein scheint. Diese Kleinigkeiten vermögen aber nichts an dem äußerst positiven Gesamteindruck des Buches zu ändern und man kann sich nur wünschen, bald wieder eine neue Monographie des Autors begrüßen zu können.

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Abstracts

DIMITRA SCHÖNEGGER

HEADHUNTERS, SHIP-CLOTHS IN THE ALEXANDER LITERATURE

The Abung-Lampung, one of the three Lampung tribes, are inhabitants of the southern part of Sumatra. They have been named mountain dwellers and they are divided into three groups. Anthropologists consider them as the autochthonous population of this region.

Among the Abung-Lampung we encounter many characteristics of the megalithic culture of Southeast Asia enriched with elements of the bronze age, known as the Dongson-Culture. These are: Stone monuments, head hunting, circumcision, transition rites, ancestor worship, worship of spirits. This heritage is manifested in the geometric ornamentation of their artifacts, on textiles, bamboo-containers, wood carvings, baskets and mats, jewelry, etc. Special attention has been given to the ship-cloths, which were used as valuable presents at the transition rites indicating at the same time the social position of the individuals involved.

Despite the influence of Hinduism and later of Islam, the perseverance of the above mentioned cultural traits has led anthropologists to believe that the influence of Islam was rather superficial and did not deeply affect their original, pre-Hinduistic beliefs. However, the absorption of the rather complicated legend of Alexander the Great into their creation myth proves that their contact with Islam was not incidental or temporary, but rather continuous and intensive. This myth was recorded in 1852 and can be ascribed—according to our opinion—to the groups inhabiting the northern territory of Lampung adjacent to the region of Palembang. It has coexisted with all other previous cultural influences and can be seen as the witness of the abstract (non-figurative), intellectual dominance of Islam in this region.

RONALD C. JENNINGS

PILGRIMS VIEW THE WOMEN OF THE ISLAND OF VENUS

Pilgrimages from Latin Europe were very much in vogue during the 14th and 15th centuries. Cyprus was very much on their route; by that time it had become a great international emporium. Few knew the Greek language spoken there, although nearly all would have known the language of its new rulers, the Crusading Lusignans.

Many of the sober Latin pilgrims were already wary of Greek Orthodoxy, the religion of most Cypriots. Even more abominable for many was the island's association as the home of the lascivious religion of Aphrodite (Venus), whose birthplace and chief shrine were found there. Many of the pilgrims were simple and credulous, although some were intelligent and even curious. Many copied part or all of what had been reported by earlier pilgrims.

MARINA MARINESCU

NEW SOURCES ON STEPHAN BERGLER, A SCHOLAR FROM TRANSYLVANIA
(1680-1738)

The paper provides new data about the life and the activity of a distinguished scholar of the second half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, Stephan Bergler.

Born in Braşov (Romania) in 1680, Bergler studied classical philology in Leipzig and worked in Germany and the Neatherlands for well-known editors of classical texts, such as Johannes A. Fabricius and Thomas Fritsch.

In 1722 he was invited by Prince Nikolaos Mavrokordatos of Valachia to Bucharest, where he lived as his counselor and librarian until his death in 1738.

The paper comments four letters recently discovered at the Library of the University of Copenhagen, which complete the information provided by the study of Maria Marinescu-Himu, first published in 1943.

IZABELLA PAPP

GREEK MERCHANTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY JÁSZKUNSAÁG

The Greeks in Hungary played an important role in the economic and

commercial life of the country, especially in the eighteenth century. No comprehensive study, however, has been made on their activity and history. Previous papers mainly dealt with the history of territories with bigger communities and parishes.

This paper tries to describe the main features of the history of the Greeks settled in the area of Jászkunság, a territory known less for its Greek inhabitants.

The Greeks of the Jászkunság found themselves under special economic and social circumstances. The Jászkunság, situated between the rivers Danube and Tisza, did not form a unified territory, it consisted of Jászág (Jazygia), the Kiskunság (Little Cumania, in South Central Hungary) and Nagykunság (Great Cumania, in Eastern Hungary). These territories were joined during the Turkish supremacy into one administrative unit and Jászberény was the common seat of all three. Hungarian kings granted the Jazygians and the Cumanians important privileges when they settled here in the 13th and 14th centuries respectively, but on the other hand their obligations increased. Thus, they developed a relatively closed community and were not very willing to receive foreigners. However, the Balkan merchants arriving in the 17th and 18th centuries were welcomed. In other parts of the country, especially where the bourgeoisie was predominant, the reception of the Greeks was not unanimously favourable. On the contrary, in the Jászkunság we can trace no sign of refusal. Here, there was lack of merchants and the Greeks could work without competition until the appearance of the Jews. The local inhabitants dealt only with agriculture and animal breeding. This was well complemented by the trading activity of the Greek merchants who often lent money to the residents. The documents in the Szolnok Megyei Levéltár (Archives of the Szolnok Country) allow us to conclude that the assimilation of the Greeks was much easier here than in any other part of Hungary.

The loyalty oath edict of 1774 was decisive for the Greeks in the Jászkunság, but as the authorities were very tolerant, its full application took a long time. Unlike in other parts of the country, the immigration did not stop after the loyalty oath edict; Greeks settled here as late as the 1790's.

This paper tries to show the duality of the state of the Greeks settled in this region. While they tried to adjust themselves to their new country and adopt the local customs, they had a very strong tendency to preserve their national awareness, as well as their religion, showing thus their adherence to their native land. An outstanding Greek scholar in Hungary, György Zavirász, played an important role in keeping alive the national awareness of the Greeks.

The remembrance of the Greeks in the Jászkunság is preserved not only

in the archival documents, but also in a number of beautiful sepulchres (in Karcag, Jászberény and Jászládány), in cemeteries and in the extremely beautiful Greek-Orthodox church in Karcag, which has been recently declared a public monument.

ANTHONY-EMIL N. TACHIAOS

THE NATIONAL REGENERATION OF THE GREEKS AS SEEN BY THE RUSSIAN INTELLIGENTSIA

When the Greek people rose up in 1821 and threw off the Turkish yoke, the Russian intelligentsia's attitude was rather different from the official one. The intellectuals began by accepting a certain historical determinism and, taking a rather more emotional approach to the event, they applauded the idea of restoring the Greek Byzantine Empire, or at least of creating a state which would be a continuation of it. Paisii Velichkovskii, A. S. Pushkin, and Prince S. Shirinskii-Shaxmatov fervently espoused these views. The first to oppose them were the Slavophiles, who, as the exponents of a historical Slavonic Messianism, could no longer accept the supremacy of the Hellenic world. Though utopian, their views were justified to a considerable extent by the developments within the evolving tiny Greek state, which no longer reflected the magnificence of the Byzantine Empire. K. P. Leont'ev radically disagreed with the Slavophiles' views, for he had a thorough knowledge and deep love for the Greek world; but he too was disappointed in the modern Greek state and deprecated the notion of re-establishing a Greek empire. The article paves the way for further research and discussion.

BASIL C. GOUNARIS

GRECO-TURKISH RAILWAY CONNECTION: ILLUSIONS AND BARGAINS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY BALKANS

Despite profound financial weakness and a rather unfavourable political background, Greece and the Ottoman Empire tried to meet the railway challenge. Both states hoped that railways would easily bring a variety of domestic

problems to a successful end. In this context the construction of a junction line between the two neighbouring countries soon attracted the interest of the Greek governments. The issue was sentimentally charged and overemphasised since such a line was expected to support not only the economic development of Greece but also the political unification of the nation with its brethren in Macedonia. The paper tries to evaluate briefly the economic and political prospects of railway building in Greece and in the Ottoman Empire and focuses on the fruitless diplomatic manoeuvres of successive Greek governments to achieve Ottoman consent for a railway junction. Finally it examines the causes of failure in an attempt to prove that such a scheme had never had a chance of success within the particular financial and political context.

BASIL KONDIS

THE NORTHERN EPIRUS QUESTION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The purpose of this study is to examine and analyse the policy of the Greek governments towards the question of Northern Epirus during the period of the First World War. Moreover, the author examines the Italian occupation of Epirus and the efforts made by Venizelos to save Northern Epirus from foreign rule.